GULF MIGRATION AND IT'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT
A STUDY WITH REFERENCE TO
DAKSHINA KANNADA DISTRICT

Thesis submitted for the award of the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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JULY 2003

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ಕನ್ನಡ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ, ಹಂಪಿ

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Certificate

This is to certify that this thesis entitled ***"Gulf Migration and its Socio-Economic Impact – A Study with Reference to Dakshina Kannada District"*** *is a bonafide research work carried out by* ***Walter D'Souza S*** *under my direct guidance and supervision and is being submitted to the* ***Kannada University, Hampi*** *for the award of degree of* ***Doctor of Philosophy in Commerce****. The results presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any other degree or diploma.*

Place : Hampi

Date : 31/07/03

DR. M. CHANDRA POOJARY Ph.D.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled ***"Gulf Migration and its Socio-Economic Impact – A Study with Reference to Dakshina Kannada District"*** *is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the direct guidance and supervision of* ***Dr. M. Chandra Poojary Ph.D.,*** *Reader and Head, Department of Development Studies, Kannada University, Hampi.*

This has not been submitted previously by me to any other University.

Place : Hampi

Date : 31-07-2003

WALTER D'SOUZA S.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Lakkappa Gowda, the honourable Vice Chancellor of Kannada University, Hampi for providing me an opportunity to carry out this research work. I extend my thanks to Dr. K.V. Narayana, Registrar and Dr. B. Kari Gowda, Director, Adhyayananga, Kannada University, Hampi for their help throughout my study.

I owe my deepest sense of gratitude to my esteemed guide Dr. M. Chandra Poojary, Reader and Head, Department of Development Studies, Kannada University, Hampi for providing me the motivation and for his concern while planning, conducting and completing this research work. I deem it as my privilege to work under his guidance.

My sincere thanks to the Staff members of the Department of Development Studies, Kannada University, Hampi for their kind co-operation. I am also thankful to Dr. T.P.Vijay, Reader and Head, Department of History, Kannada University, Hampi for his suggestions.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Dr.Irudaya Rajan S., Associate Fellow, Center for Development Study, Thiiruvananthapuram and Dr.Sekher T.V. Associate Professor, Population Research Centre, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore for their valuable suggestions.

I am particularly grateful to Mr. Vaman, Assistant. Librarian, Mangalore University, for his valuable suggestions regarding the source of information. I also acknowledge my gratitude to the Librarians and the Staff of Karnataka Theological College, Mangalore, Center for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, St. Aloysius College, Mangalore and Government Pre-University College, Kanyana, for helping me to utilize the Library facilities.

I gratefully acknowledge the timely help of Mr. V. J. Mathew, Prinicipal, Government Pre-University College, Kaniyoor and my friend Mr. Waheed Baig.

I am deeply indebted to the Gulf migrants and their families who participated in this study without whose co-operation it would not have been possible to accomplish my task.

WALTER D'SOUZA S.

Contents

	PAGE NO.
INTRODUCTION	1
1. Migration and Development	2
2. Importance of Migration	5
3. The Problem	7
4. Objectives of the Study	9
5. Methodology	10
6. Limitations of the Study	13
CHAPTER I	
SITUATING MIGRATION	18
1. Defining Migration	19
2. Types of Migration	23
3. Who Migrates?	25
4. Why does One Migrate?	29
5. How does One Migrate?	32
6. Problems of Migration	36
CHAPTER II	
DAKSHINA KANNADA AND GULF MIGRATION	47
1. The colonial Dakshina Kannada	48
a. Trade and Migration	52
b. Colonial Intervention and Migration	55
2. The Post Colonial Dakshina Kannada	58
a. Banks, Hotels and Migration	61
b. Development of the District	63
CHAPTER III	
HUMAN AGENCY AND GULF MIGRATION	69
1. Socio-Economic Background	70
2. Reasons for Migration	76
3. Procedure and Mode of Migration	83

PAGE NO.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRANTS AT THE DESTINATION 99

1. Support at the Destination 101
2. Present Occupation 102
3. Annual Income 104
4. Promise and Offer 105
5. Frequency of Change of Job 107
6. Nature of Job and Salary 108
7. Facilities Offered by the Employer 111
8. Job Satisfaction 115
9. Savings and Money Transfer 116
10. Taking Family, Association etc. 118

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF GULF MIGRATION 130

1. Economic Impact on the Family 134
2. Economic Impact at the Macro Level 145

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF GULF MIGRATION 163

1. On the Wives Left Behind 163
2. On the Elderly 176

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION 196

APPENDIX – I : Emigration Check Not Required 204

II : Questionnaire 205

BIBLIOGRAPHY 214

LIST OF TABLES

		Page No.
1.	Religion of the Migrants	92
2.	Age and Sex of the Migrants	92
3.	Female Migrants	92
4.	Marital Status of the Migrants	93
5.	Educational Status of the Migrants	93
6.	Members in the Family of the Migrants	93
7.	Reasons for Migration	94
8.	Awareness about the Job at the Destination	94
9.	Cost of Migration	94
10.	Help at the Destination	122
11.	Present Occupation at the Destination	122
12.	Annual Income of the Migrants	122
13.	Promises and Reality	123
14.	Problems Encountered at the Destination	123
15.	Frequency of Change of Job at the Destination	123
16.	Nature of Job at the Destination	124
17.	Salary Received at the Destination	124
18.	Over time Salary at the Destination	124
19.	Weekly Holiday at the Destination	124
20.	Annual Holidays at the Destination	125
21.	Way of Spending Leisure Time	125
22.	Facilities offered by the Employer at the Destination	125
23.	Job Satisfaction at the Destination	126
24.	Method of Saving Money	126
25.	Sending Savings to Motherland	126
26.	Taking Family to the Gulf	127
27.	Sending Children to the Gulf	127

Page No.

28.	Gulf Citizenship	127
29.	Own Associations and the Migrants	128
30.	Indian Embassy and the Migrants	128
31.	Annual Income of the Migrants'and the Non Migrants' Families	152
32.	Allocation of Income	153
33.	Food Consumption among the Migrants' and the Non Migrants'	155
34.	Articles used for Personal Hygiene and Household Sanitation	155
35.	Amenities	156
36.	Value of the House	157
37.	Types of Schools Preferred	157
38.	Means of Transport to School	158
39.	Type of Hospital Preferred	158
40.	Annual Medical Expenses	159
41.	Occupational Mobility of the Migrants	159
42.	Employment at the Native Place	160
43.	Time Interval Between Marriage and First Migration	187
44.	Means of Communication	187
45.	Frequency of Letter Writing	188
46.	Frequency of Phone Calls	188
47.	Number of Children in the Migrants' Families	189
48.	Managing Finance and Family Affairs	189
49.	Problems of the Gulf Migrants' Wives	190
50.	Elderly and Family Relations	191
51.	Health Condition of the Elderly	191
52.	Diseases Suffered by the Elderly	192
53.	Treatment of Diseases	192
54.	Occupational Status of the Elderly	193

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The principal objective of this thesis is to study the Gulf migration and its impact on the society and economy of Dakshina Kannada district. Migration is an essential part of the district's economic history. In the pre-colonial period people used to migrate to important royal centers like Hampi, Mysore and Kodagu.[1] In the colonial period the centers of migration shifted to Chikmagalur and Kodagu.[2] These were the important places of coffee plantation developed by the British. During the rainy season which used to commence from June and continue till December, the laborers from the district used to migrate to the coffee plantations of Chikmagalur and Kodagu in search of employment. In the post colonial period coffee plantations lost their charm and people began to search for other lucrative places of employment. At that historical juncture the city of Bombay was bristling with industrial activities. Bombay became attractive to the people of Dakshina Kannada not only for its potential to offer innumerable bread earning opportunities but also because of its geographical and climatic conditions. Bombay, like Dakshina Kannada, lies on the western coast at a distance of around a thousand kilometers on the northern side. It offered almost similar climatic conditions like that of the district to the migrants. Thus along with its ample employment opportunities, geographical and climatic conditions attracted the people to Bombay.[3]

However, the industrial center could not be a perennial source of employment for the migrants from the district for various reasons. Of them, developments within the district and also the decline of employment opportunities in the industrial center might have played important role. The reason which might have

contributed to the decline of migration to Bombay would be discussed in the later chapters. Here, it would suffice to say that since 1970s the people of Dakshina Kannada began to move towards the Gulf countries in search of employment. Since 1970s the process of Gulf migration has continued uninterrupted with the exception of one year that was during 1991 when the Gulf war broke out. Gulf migration might have effected a lot of changes in the life of migrants' families. Besides, it might have also resulted in introducing some changes in the economy and society of the district. In this thesis an attempt is made to understand the impact of Gulf migration on the life of the migrants' families and also the indirect impact it has made on the broader society and economy of the district at large. In addition to this, fundamental issue, the study also looks into other important issues related to migration such as the people who migrate, the causes of their migration, the mode of migration, the condition of the migrants at the destination, and its impact on those who are left at home. This introductory chapter includes a brief note on migration and its relation to development, importance of migration, objectives of the study, method of the study and chapter schemes of the thesis.

Migration and Development

Obviously, socio-economic development and migration are closely interrelated. Migration is not just an isolated economic phenomenon. One also needs to understand the social and economic context which forces or attracts someone to migrate. In our case we need to understand why developing societies have a large pool of migrants and also the reason for their eagerness to migrate. When we take a closer look at this problem, we find that it is deeply implicated in the general debates on development/-underdevelopment and on modernization. Therefore, an attempt is

made in the following pages to lay down the outlines of these debates as a general background to the problem of migration.

The two concepts of "development" and "underdevelopment" have been the subjects of great controversy for decades now. Development economists have classified the world into `developed' and `underdeveloped' countries. Noted development economists have argued that a developed country is one which has the socio-economic conditions necessary for the economic growth which is so well achieved that it, in turn, contributes for the better quality of life in the society. On the other hand an underdeveloped country is seen as that, which lacks conducive socio-economic structure and which fails to achieve the necessary economic prosperity. This practice of neo-classical economists of ascribing socio-economic symptoms as causes of underdevelopment is based on the experiences of the western societies. Industrial revolution not only changed the western societies in fundamental ways, but also invested them with power and prestige *vis a vis* their third-world counterparts.[4]

One of the consequences of this historical experience has been that the western developmental process can be repeated anywhere as a paradigm. Theories which base their arguments on this assumption are broadly categorized as modernization theories. Development theorists invariably consider modernization as either the cause or the final result of industrialization. Their theories can be restated as follows: the socio-economic development is a linear process. It is further argued that there is only one path of development which must pass through certain definite stages of economic evolution. The succession of these stages is supposed to represent various levels of the development of society. In relation to developing countries, this meant, first, a neglect of the original

modes of production in favour of universal stages and, second, that these universal stages, supposedly progressive, necessarily manifest in different stages of development. The `developed' state which a previously underdeveloped country might reach by following the ineluctable universal rules of development is then called a `modernized' society. In other words, the economics propounded by the development theorists and the cultural history officialized by writers like Max Weber are inseparably related.[5]

With the intention of modernizing or developing their societies, nations during the post-colonial period have followed the formula of development prescribed by the already developed nations. The formula invariably includes steps like incorporating the technologies of the west both in the field of agriculture and industry and also incorporating the institutions of the modern societies. This incorporation of modern technologies and institutions, it is believed, ultimately enhances the production of goods and sevices and that in turn increases the national wealth. It is also believed that the increased national wealth would improve the quality or statndard of life of the people.[6]

Post- colonial India also followed the same path. To build modern industries and also to modernize its agriculutre, it has, through its five years plans, invested crores of rupees on development. Indicators such as sectoral shift, urban formation, labor force shift, literacy rate, and so on are used to measure the development of the economy.[7] At macro-level all these centered around one priority of development, that is, increasing the national wealth. At the micro-level enhancing the material or resource position of an individual or family became the focus of our development. So at the micro-level pressure began to mount on people to modernize or develop. As said in the erstwhile

paragraphs, the process of modernizing invariably deals with either going for modern occupations like that of the doctor, engineer, lawyer and so on or modernizing the agriculture or industry.

We have known that in a vast country like India the process of modernization has been very slow. It is mainly due to two reasons – first being the lack of capital to invest, and the second, the unweildy space to be modernized. So, in the early phase of development we could have only some scattered islands of development in the form of some industrial centers like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Delhi. This situation has created a mismatch between the number of aspirants to be modern and the chances to be one. In other words, when the people in the nook and corner of India are eager to enjoy the benefits of modernization, the process of modernization is more concentrated in some regions or city centers. So it became inevitable to people at the regions which have not developed enough to provide them modern opportunities so that they could enhance their resource position to migrate to other places or centers where they can realize their dreams of good life. This is how the development or modernization process expressed itself in practice in the form of migration.

Importance of Migration

It is clear from what is stated above that migration and development are the two faces of the same phenomenon. An individual or a family migrates in order to find a good job and thereby attempts to boost his/her or its economic conditions. But the impact of migration is not confined only to economic interests, it has several other dimensions. The migrant is exposed to a new culture, a new way of life, a new style of living, a new language, new skills, a different occupation, different races of people, city life, an enormous business world and a strange economic system

which forces the migrant to struggle to form his own concept of life. This may help him to start his own venture which may change life for him and also for those who are around him.[8]

The migrant is a part and parcel of his family. His earning ultimately is sent to his family at the origin. The earning sent by the migrant is invested in constructing a decent house, consumer durables, housing facilities, education, good food which in turn, gives a decent standard of living to the migrant's family. The migrant's family would also give importance to preserving the sources for the future. The migrant has also become a source of development for his community in terms of helping the local people by introducing unemployed people to the Gulf countries. The change in life styles of the migrants' families at the origin has also influenced the local economy. The changed consumption pattern of the migrants' family has given a new shape to the local market in terms of modernization. The people at the origin who invested on construction, business and agriculture have given rise to new employment opportunities to the community. The migration has also influenced the wages in the countries of origin.[9]

The change in the individual migrant's economic condition also influences the economic condition of the country. Migration to the Gulf countries for better prospects primarily becomes a means of eliminating unemployment. The investment made by the migrant and his family at the origin has increased job opportunities for the surrounding people and has improved the Indian economy.[10] The remittances sent by the migrant to the countries of origin have augmented the foreign exchange, banking prospects, imports and exports. The money deposited by the migrants in the banks has helped other people to raise loan for their own investment. The new standard of living of the migrants and their families has

encouraged modernization in every aspect of the society, like hotel industry, electronic goods, consumer durables, food production, and industrial growth. Thus it has encouraged investment in productive activities. The investment in productive activities causes an increase in the development of transportation and communication. In toto, migration has caused an enhancement in the country's economy. These positive impacts of migration clearly spell out the importance of migration on the economy.

It addition to the above material manifestation's of migration there are some cultural dimensions too. It is amply clear at this juncture that migration has become a vehicle of spreading ideas, culture, information, language, religion and philosophical thought. Today, the world has become a global village. Hence, we find a fast movement from the places of less opportunities to the places of better opportunities. This social phenomenon has made the migrants' families capable of improving their living conditions. It has also contributed in reducing the shortage of labor in the destination place. This movement has also resulted in balancing the population pressure and economic growth. Migration has brought in development at two levels; for instance, development of the place from which he originates by sending the remittances to the place of origin, and development of the destination place by fulfilling the demand of labor. The migrant himself has become a model of migration to the rest.

The Problem

Considering the importance of migration and also the interrelation between migration and development a number of studies have been conducted. These studies have attempted to analyze the process, problems and consequences of migration. The findings of these studies have been discussed in detail in the second

chapter. Here, an attempt is made to identify the major loopholes, and based on these, explain the need for this study. In depth survey of literature on migration studies undoubtedly leads one to identify the following gaps in the existing corpus of knowledge on migration. They are :

i. Eventhough a large number of people from Dakshina Kannada have been migrating to the Gulf for the last two decades, there is hardly any study examining the impact of migration on the socio-economic life of the district.

ii. Most of the studies on migration concentrate on social and economic impact on the place of origin, but there are very few or no studies that examine the condition of migrants at the destination

iii. Studies on the social impact of Gulf migration largely concentrate on one issue, that is, the condition or status of women left behind. There are hardly a few or no studies that examine the condition or status of the elderly dependents of migrants.

iv. There is a need to highlight the impetus provided by migation to employment opportunities to the population of Dakshina Kannada when the agrarian and industrial sector could not facilitate employment adequately.

v. No attempt has been made to highlight the contribution of migrants in the developmental activities through their own investment after the migrants return.

In India, the state of Kerala, has been known for it's out migration for many decades, particularly to the Middle East. Naturally, most of the studies done on Gulf migration are bound to be on Kerala. The impact of migration to the Middle East from Dakshina Kannada has never received any attention till recently.

Though migration of individuals from Karnataka in general is small in number, migration to the Middle East from the coastal belt i.e., Dakshina Kannada is quite large. Even, the work done on migration in other states of India makes no mention of this aspect. Another issue which received little or no attention of researchers is the condition of migrants at the destination. A large chunk of literature on migration concentrates on socio-economic impact of migration on the people or families at the place of origin.

In the process of evaluation of previous studies, a number of very important questions like the state of the migrants at the destination, the terms and conditions of their employment, the amenities they receive, the way they spend their leisure, and the like have remained unanswered. One of the significant issues which has not been given due importance is about the condition or status of the elderly dependents of the migrants. Studies looking into the social impact of migration focused their attention solely on the status of the women left behind but the problem of the elderly dependents of the migrants is paid less importance. A number of problems related to the social, economic, family, emotional and health status have not been properly researched. In this thesis, an attempt is made to address all these issues.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the thesis is to study the socio-economic impact of Gulf migration. As observed in the earlier paragraphs, the issue of socio-economic impact invariably involves many other issues such as causes of migration, process of migration, difficulties of emigrants at the destination, difficulties of women left behind and the problems of the aged dependents of emigrants. The specific research objectives are:

i. To study the causes and process of migration

ii. To study the condition of migrants at the destination

iii. To study the social impact of migration on women left behind, and emphasis on the status of the elderly dependents of migrants.

iv. To study the economic impact of migration.

Methodology

In order to come to any conclusion on the stated objectives, it is necessary that data on some of the significant factors affecting the area of research have to be obtained and analyzed. First and foremost, we need to identify and understand the causes of migration. A brief study of the social history of Dakshina Kannada would help in placing the problem in the proper perspective because the historical dynamics of the society demonstrate the socio-economic conditions at various historical junctures and help us in understanding the pull and push factors of migration. Secondly, the process of migration involves preparation for migration, factors facilitating migration and also factors working as hurdles on migration. Thirdly, to understand the condition of migrants at the destination, we need data on terms and conditions of employment, facilities offered and the major problems faced by the migrants at the destination. Finally, condition of dependents at the native place can be understood by looking into indicators such as wife's status, resource position of the family, decision making in the family, number of the aged dependents and their health condition. Information on all these variables is collected from the primary and secodary sources.

The main source of primary data is the migrants and their dependents. As one collects information from this source one has to decide the sample region and the sample size of the migrants. Undivided Dakshina Kannada was a relatively large district

comprizing 8 taluks of Kundapura, Udupi, Mangalore, Karkala, Bantwal, Puttur, Sullia and Belthangady. Of these eight taluks, three taluks – Kundapura, Udupi and Mangalore are situated on the coast, and the rest of the taluks are in the interior regions. In fact the coastal taluks except Kundapura are relatively more developed when compared to the interior taluks. Hence, the researcher has decided to take one taluk from each category – Mangalore from the coastal or developed taluks and Puttur from the interior or the developing taluks. Interestingly,these two taluks exhibit several features of contrast. One can observe a marked difference in their economic development, geographical landscape, job opportunities and civic values.

Another problem that the researcher had to grapple with was connected with the selection of the sample size of the migrants. Basically one must propose a workable figure that would be feasible as well as representative. Unfortunately, it was found that there is no document or source giving the accurate figure of Gulf migrants. So, obviously the researcher could not go through the long process of assessing the total migrants in the sample region. In other words, the study has no idea of the universe or the total migrants from the district. Moreover, the study has attempted to make the nature of the migrants broadbased and flexible irrespective of the period of their migration. In other words all those who migrated from the district at any period of time became a part of the universe. In order to assess the impact and the contrast of experiences, the sample is drawn from two categories – migrants and non-migrants. Among the migrants, again two categories are made – migrants at the destination and migrants or migrants' families at the native place.

In order to understand the condition of migrants at the destination, a structured questionnaire is used. The main purpose of the questionnaire is to assess the working condition, food habits, leave, socialization, environment, leisure and problems faced by the migrants at the destination. The questionnaire was sent to the migrants at the destination through a migrant who was returning from his vacation. He was told of the importance of the assignment and was requested to distribute the questionnaires to migrants from Dakshina Kannada. 160 questionnaires were sent. Besides, those who returned on leave to the place of origin have been approached personally to interview them. Of the 160 questionnaires sent only 72 questionnaires were returned duly filled. Ten migrants were interviewed when they returned on leave. Hence 82 responses could be obtained through the questionnaires regarding the condition at the destination, which comprise both interviews and questionnaires that were sent by the migrants from Gulf countries.

Another structured questionnaire is used to collect information on the economic and social impact of migration. The primary motive of a migrant would be to improve the economic condition of the family. To estimate the economic impact at the place of origin, the households of the migrants have been interviewed through a structured questionnaire. 68 dependents in Mangalore taluk and 40 dependents in Puttur taluk were interviewed. Here, the interviewed persons in most of the cases were not migrants but heads of the household. In the absence of the head of the household, a responsible person in the family was interviewed. In order to assess the social impact of migration, the wives of the migrants and the aged dependents were interviewed. 60 wives of the migrants in Mangalore and 50 wives of the migrants in Puttur were interviewed. Besides, 65 aged dependents of migrants

in Mangalore and 40 aged dependents in Puttur were interviewed. The social and economic impact of migration was assessed through these interviews. Twelve economic indicators are used to measure the economic impact of migration. They are annual income, allocation of income, type of food consumed, articles used for personal hygiene and household sanitation, amenities, type of houses and the value of the house, type of schools preferred, means of transport used to send their children to school, type of hospitals preferred, medical expenses, occupational mobility and employment at the native place. In order to measure the social impact on the wives of migrants, eight indicators are used. They are interval between marriage and first migration, means of communication, frequency of letters, frequency of telephone calls made, looking after the children, managing the social relations of the family and family finance, problems faced by wives left behind and their added responsibilities. To measure the impact of migration on the aged, four indicators are used. They are occupation, elderly and family, health condition and socio-economic status. In order to assess the impact of migration on larger society, a controlled group is used. The socio- economic status of the controlled group is assessed and compared with that of the migrants. The socio-economic indicators mentioned above are used to measure the impact of migration.

Limitations of the Study

The main limitations of the study that the researcher likes to acknowledge broadly relate to statistics or data on migration, selection of sample, communication with the selected people and availability of time and funds. One of the disturbing handicap, a socio-economic study of this kind faces has been the acute shortage of data regarding the social categories. The crucial factor on which this study relies on is the record of the number of people migrated

to the Gulf countries. Such a systematic registering of names and documentation of the full details of a person is not found. Besides, data relating to migration such as country to which people migrated, the job for which people migrated, the monthly remuneration migrants earn, expiry of their contract, details of employer, and so on are very hard to come. The government has not maintained any document on migrants. This lack of information puts the researcher in a difficult situation and demands a lot of ground work to be done before the research actually starts.

Dakshina Kannada district geographically occupies a large space in the costal area comprising five taluks with a population of 18,96,403 and houses the followers of various religions, castes and sub-castes. As mentioned in the methodology part, two taluks are selected for the study. Even in the selected taluks all the migrants have not been approached. The sample was randomly selected and interviewed. It goes without saying that identifying and interviewing each and every migrant and his family and collecting data is an uphill task due to the vastness of the area. In addition to the above limitations, the limitation of quality of data gathered need to be considered. Some of the informations, especially on economic and social details, given by the migrants need to be qualified because some migrants were reluctant to give details on annual income, value of house, investments and bank deposits. Most of the Muslim women were either embarrassed to talk to the interviewer or were recluctant to speak. It has been observed by the researcher that some aged people were afraid to express their views in front of their daughters-in-law. The interviewer, in most of the cases, was a stranger to these families. Taking a serious note of the limitations mentioned above a rigorous and systematic attempt has

been made to assess the socio-economic impact of Gulf migration on Dakshina Kannada district.

Chapter Schemes

The thesis consists of introduction, six chapters, summary and conclusion.

Introduction

Objectives, importance, problems, methodology, limitations and chapter schemes are given here along with a brief note on migration and its relation to development.

Chapter I

This chapter makes an attempt to review the literature on migration. It deals with the various definitions of migration, types of migration and definition used in the thesis.

Chapter II

This chapter concentrates on the social history of Dakshina Kannada. The chapter has been divided in to two parts. The first part narrates the socio-economic dynamics of colonial Dakshina Kannada and the second part deals with the social dynamics of post-colonial Dakshina Kannada.

Chapter III

In this chapter various elementary aspects of migration like socio-economic background of the migrants, reasons for migration as well as procedure and mode of migration are discussed.

Chapter IV

The main objective of this chapter is to explain the condition of migrants at the destination. The things discussed in the chapter centers around the following issues - terms and conditions of employment, facilities and amenities provided to the migrants and other related things.

Chapter V

Economic impact of migration is analyzed in this chapter. Twelve indicators are used to measure the economic impact and data relating to those indicators are presented in this chapter.

Chapter VI

This chapter deals with the migration and is social impact on the migrants family. This chapter has been divided into two parts. The first part deals with migration and its impact on the wives left behind. The second part deals with migration and its impact on the elderly dependents of migrants.

Conclusion

This part of the thesis summarizes the whole thesis and also attempts to give some suggestions, which have policy implications.

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CHAPTER I

SITUATING MIGRATION

CHAPTER – 1

SITUATING MIGRATION

The issue of migration is increasingly gaining importance in the academic circles due to its relation to other issues like development, demography, diaspora and so on. The academic interest in this phenomenon is evident from the wide range of research, journals and books written on the subject. In this chapter an attempt is made to bring together the already available knowledge on migration. Infact this exercise is a necessity to find a new direction to the task of furthering knowledge on migration. Therefore, here an attempt is made to comprehend the knowledge produced by the previous studies. In common parlance migration may be seen as a movement of an individual or a family. This movement may be stimulated by wars or famine or political or economic reasons. Adults moving in search of employment is a predominant thing debated under migration. But migration is not just confied to movement for economic reasons, it includes many other things such as middle aged people moving back to join their family, gypsies and other nomadic people moving (for whom mobility is a way of life) in search of pleasure or to spend their holidays and so on. But this thesis concentrates on movement of people for economic reasons. This chapter attempts to bring out the views of previous studies on the nature, purpose and mode of migration.

Another aspect which takes a large part of academic exercise is the definition of migration itself. So this chapter discusses the definitions of migration used by the previous studies, the major problems of those definitions and the definition used in this thesis.

This chapter also includes a discussion on different types of migration identified by the previous studies and also the type of migration the thesis proposes to examine. So a brief overview of the significance of migration in shaping people's lives in terms of economic and culture also becomes a part of this chapter. There is a brief explanation of the migrant himself, his background, occupation, education, community, problems of migration, reasons for migration and the problems of migrant's family.

Defining Migration

Migration plays an important role in the socio-economic development of the developing societies. Hence, a number of studies have gone into this area. In a sense, migration is a vastly researched problem. So, there are varied meanings and definitions of migration. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to comprehend and define migration for the purpose of this thesis. The word 'migration' has been defined by different authors in different ways. The open ended nature of migration makes it prone to evolve different meanings and values depending on the objectives and context of the study. Migration is a social process. Even then, it is the individual or the family or friends who actually play a significant role when one decides to migrate. In general, it is said that migration takes place basically to satisfy the primary wants, economic needs, housing requirements etc. Migration from the point of view of economic acceleration is seen as an important factor and most of the migrants belong to this category.

Migration is a kind of change from one place to another where the opportunities are available. The change or changing is definitely not a new phenomenon to human being because change is an integral part of every cell of nature. Everything changes whether it is willed by the being or not. The internal change of being does

not depend on the being but it takes place by itself. Since man is a part of nature, the change in him can be seen in different ways, among which migration is one of the important changes. Man has been changing his living and working places from one place to another which we call migration. Migration itself is as old as human being himself. Hence we can speak about migration as an individual's voluntary movement for attaining his desires. We can trace the migrating attitude of human being from time immemorial. The principal motive of migration is to satisfy one's needs.

The word migration means 'mobility' or going from one place to another. Hence, with reference to migration of people, it may be described as "mobility" of people from one place to another. It is defined as "the act or an instance of moving from one country or region to settle in another." In this sense, migration is split into two processes–emigration and immigration. Moving out of one's original place is referred to as 'emigration' whereas moving into the place of destination is referred to as 'immigration.' Ravenstien is the first one to formulate the migration laws. He defines a migrant as a person who moves from one administrative unit to another. According to his laws of migration, migrants move from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity. He further explains that migration takes place from an area of origin (departure) to one of destination (arrival). A group of migrants with a common origin and destination is called migration stream and each stream has a counter stream.[1] In this way Ravenstien gives importance to two things–distance and opportunity. Whereas Peterson differs in his definition of the concept of migration. He defines migration as movement motivated by the individual, willing to risk the unknown to a new home and breaking from a familiar social universe for the sake of adventure or achievement, or to

escape a social system from which he has become alienated.[2] The definition of Peterson which looks at migration as an adventure, escapism and achievements is completely a contrast to Ravenstien's definition for whom economic necessity plays a crucial role in motivating an individual to migrate.

Weinberg looks at migration as a process of searching for work where the workers may totally get into a new situation for a period of time.[3] He considers human migration as the changing of place or abode permanently or temporarily for a considerable duration. For example, the seasonal workers change the place of work temporarily. It is used symbolically to refer to the transition from one surrounding to another in the course of human life. Definitions discussed above highlight several facets of migration, Yet they fail to give a comprehensive picture of migration. Ravenstien looks at the whole process of migration from the point of view of 'distance' and 'opportunity' acquiring process. Migration is not merely an opportunity acquiring process, it has cultural dimensions or the potential for enhancing the quality of life too. But Ravenstien fails to look into other aspects of the migration process like health, environment and education.

On the other hand, Peterson in his definition emphasizes on migration as individual achievement acquiring reality. In the bargain, it is no doubt, the individuals, owing to the pressure from the family or society may have migrated. There is, no doubt, in a few cases, alienation of a certain community or individual might have resulted in migration. But in those cases the individual's voluntariness and initiative cannot be ignored. These aspects have been sidelined by Peterson. At the same time, Peterson fails to recognize the basic factors such as good wages, good work and so on for which people migrate. These issues have been taken into

account when Weignberg defines migration. Basically he sees migration as search for work. Hunting for a job and better remuneration has been the motive of migration to other countries. Migration in general need not be and is not solely in search of work. Migration is also caused due to the marital status, health problems and national interest. Hence, there are views which say that the above definitions are useful in getting only a partial reality of the migration process. Besides, these studies relate to African and South American experiences; they do not deal with Gulf migration. In this respect, the studies of Bagne and Safa H. are worth quoting.

Bagne defines migration as a search for opportunities to improve the life condition.[4] So destination is a pull factor and economic and social situation of the native is a push factor. Here, Bagne opines that the central goal of the migrant who migrates to the Gulf countries is to gain economic benefits. The definition of Safa H. and Dutoit enriches and adds more to the definition of Bagne. She evaluates the job opportunities at the native place and at the destination and based on this, she formulates a definition of migration. In her opinion, migration is normally viewed as an economic phenomenon. Though there are some other factors responsible for migration, these factors appear to contribute for migration mainly because of the lack of opportunities available at the native place and also for better prospects.[5] This definition of migration gives a holistic picture of a emigrant to other countries. Migration can be defined as "wants and opportunity satisfying process of an individual" or "movement of a person or a group of people in acquisition of opportunities to satisfy his or their needs voluntarily or involuntarily." In the light of the above discussion, we could define Gulf migration for the purpose of this thesis as

"movement of a person from India to the Gulf countries purely on contract basis and the permission granted clearly mentions his/her nature of work, remuneration, facilities and peroid of stay.''

Types of Migration

The international labor organization has classified international migration for employment into two major categories. They are - settlement migration and contract migration. Settlement migration means people migrate from one country to another to secure jobs and settle permanently there. International contract migration occurs when a worker is officially granted permission to enter another country and take up employment in a given job and a contract is entered into on his behalf or between him and the employer or enterprise for which he is to work.[6] In addition to the above institutional classification of migration, independent researchers have also listed different types of migration. Leszek A. Kosinkni and Marsell Prothero classify migration on the basis of time (temporary or permanent), distance (long or short), boundaries crossed (internal or external), areal units involved (between communities or countries or state), decision making (voluntary or impelled or forced), number involved (individual or mass), social organization of migrants (family or individual), political organization of the migrant (sponsored or free)and causes (economic or non-economic)[7].

Kent E. believes that migration can be divided on the basis of duration as– a) accidental or temporary, b) permanent or periodic and c) definitive migration.[8] Bilsborrow et.al. classifies the migrants into the following major categories - foreigners admitted for special purposes, settlers, migrant workers, economic migrants and asylum migrants.[9] The foreigners admitted for special purposes are foreign students, foreign trainees and foreign retirees.

Settlers are persons who are granted the right to stay indefinitely in the territory of a country other than their own and to enjoy the same social and economic rights as those of the citizens of that country. Migrant workers are persons admitted by a country other than their own for the explicit purpose of carrying out an economic activity. The category of migrant workers includes seasonal migrant workers, project tied migrant workers, contract migrant workers, temporary migrant workers, established migrant workers and highly skilled migrant workers.

The economic migrants include persons who are internationally requisitioned in connection with exercise of economic activity i.e. either enumerated from within the country of destination or demand a certain investment from the migrant concerned. They include business travelers and immigrating investors. The asylum migration covers the whole spectrum of international movements caused by persecution and conflict. According to this classification, the contract workers are defined as persons working in a country other than their own under contractual arrangement that sets limit on the period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant. These studies have classified different types of migration based on the social and economic context of the migrants and also based on their condition at the destination. This observation has brought numerous kinds of migration to be classified. Hence we could list different types of migration from the previous studies. The migration to the Gulf countries which is the subject matter of this thesis is in line with the migrants who have migrated for the economic reasons for a temporary period on contract basis.

Who Migrates?

Though migration is common among all the species, migration with reference to human beings has some very important features. A human being migrates neither by instinct nor because of geographical reasons but most of the time with pre-decision, having a definite purpose. Study of migrated individuals of the cross section of people show that the individuals who have migrated for a definite goal are for economic reasons, education, social, marital reasons, on business, health etc. The primary characteristics of migrants can be traced when we make a closer study of the migrants. The earlier studies record the individuals who have migrated to other countries. A brief review of the earlier literature has been made in this connection to place the migrants of the past in a proper perspective. The increase in the oil price which has brought revolutionary changes in the Middle East countries, and the sudden demand for oil and inflow of huge money has made the Middle East countries re-structure themselves. That required a huge labor force to take up the projects in those countries. But the natives were not willing, neither skilled enough to take the new ventures. So the development process in the Gulf invited workers from Asian countries offering them huge salary. Workers of Asian countries started rushing to the Middle East countries. Most of these workers belong to the unskilled and semi-skilled category.

Zachariah.K.C. contends that there are two characteristics of migrants that is, fixed and changing.[10] The fixed characteristics are age, sex and caste which do not change with migration. But the changing characteristics of migration are occupation and income. They play an important role. These two features of changing

characteristics keep on varying based on the situation and the status of an individual. Since the scholars in the past have made studies on the migrants who have migrated to other countries for economic, social and academic reasons, an attempt has been made to furnish the features of the migrants into different segments like age, sex, marital status, education, occupation and community. These studies give a holistic image of the migrants and the situation that has promoted them to participate in the process of migration.

The age factor is of great importance in the process of migration. People belonging to all ages cannot migrate owing to different reasons. Studies on migrants give the statistics that most of the migrants are young people.[11] The reasons could be that the younger generation is more selective regarding their employment. They are ready to work hard and if they have a bright future even ready to go to far away places. As the youth are physiologically as well as psychologically attuned to face any challenge, this age group forms the major portion of the migrants. Since in many instances, migration takes place for the acquisition of better opportunities, more wealth, the younger age gives a chance to work for longer duration.

Like the age, another aspect which influences migration process is sex. Zachariah K.C. thinks that the rural to urban migration in India is highly male selective.[12] In India, the chances of male migration are more than the female migration. It may be because of the male dominated nature of the society. In these societies it is natural to have restriction on women going out and this might have made them abstain from being a part of the process of migration. This sex selectiveness also varies from one community to the other. In the opinion of Zachariah K.C. et.al.,

the sex composition of the migrants changes considerably among communities.[13] Muslims have the lowest proportion of female migrants. The Christian community has largest number of female migrants. The proportion of female migrants among Hindus is also low. In Indian social structure, the male is generally considered the bread winner of the family. Therefore, it is natural for the male to take intiative and make efforts to earn more and this is seen even in the process of migration.

Education is one of the factors affecting migration. But in the case of Gulf migration the whole scenario is different. Gulf countries absorbed the migrants to set up the infrastructure facilities in the country. For this purpose knowledge of some skill like, fitter, mechanic, tailor, mason, plumber and so on are essential. General education without the above skill formation is not considered important. Gulf countries were in need of such workers. So in the early phase of Gulf development they absorbed uneducated and semi-skilled people. Hence it is noticeable that majority of the migrants who joined the process of migrantion are less educated. Even though technically skilled people have migrated, they have no formal certificates. Hardly a few professionals joined the Gulf migration stream. In the words of Zachariah K.C. et. al. there are significant community wise differences with respect to the educational qualification of the migrants.[14] The proportion of persons with a secondary school certificate is higher among migrants in all communities. But this is not the case of the proportion of persons with a degree. Among Muslims, the proportion of degree holders is lower compared to the general population. There are also considerable differences in the category which has less than secondary education.

Today, the total picture of Gulf countries is not like that of the seventies. The infrastructure work is almost completed and it is in the phase of developement which demands professionally qualified migrants to the country.The occupation of the migrant before his migration has also influenced the migration process. Most of the migrants' previous occupational background was low. So they did not gain much. This might have forced them to prefer better rewarding employment at the destination. But it does not mean that all can migrate to distant places. In fact migration has been a boon to the middle class people but never to the poor. The poor have remained poor and incapable of participating in the process of migration due to the expenses involved in going to the Gulf countries. But the rich, though they could have afforded participating in the process of migration, have neglected it owing to the better economic condition at the place of origin and the risk involved in the Gulf employment. Hence, it is obvious that it is the middle class people who have participated in the process of migration.[15]

Another social factor which influences migration is the community. Community plays a vital role in the process of migration. The community feeling has also helped in employing a person in the Gulf countries. The study by Sekher T.V. shows that most of the migrants to the Gulf countries are Muslims.[16] This is indicative of the fact that Gulf being a Muslim country is more interested in employing a person belonging to the same community, even though people from other communities are also employed. But one should be careful while considering community as an important factor because, it happens to be an important factor only in specific cases like migration to the Gulf countires. The decision taken by the migrant is sometimes motivated by the family members. It is

because the migrants migrate to improve the living condition of the family. It is clear from the above discussion that a number of factors work as motivators in promoting one to migrate. Among them the most important are age and sex. In every migrant at least one of these factors has a deep impact. Thus, the earlier studies argue that these factors have influenced the migrants on their migration to other countries. Though explicitly these features are not predominant in every migrant, these factors remain the silent elements within every migrant. The exhaustive study of the earlier scholars could demonstrate the truth about them.

Why does one migrate?

Before looking into the specific reasons for migration identified by the earlier studies, let us have some idea of how migration is inbuilt into the process of development. Migration of the human being as it is learnt from the history, is for the fulfilment of the basic physical needs like food, security and shelter. Migration in the past might not have been taken up by any clan or group of people with the modern concept of development. The present concept of development which is alternative to the concept of the economic growth or acquisition of wealth might not have been the motivational factor for the people in the past. As the society has grown larger, the concept of development has also been introduced to the life style of the people. The concept of development or economic capability is the primary motive of the migration to the Gulf countries. This concept of the development has turned out to be a curse and a cause of psychological stress to the migrants.

The modern concept of development, in the process of acquiring wealth, standard of living, acceleration of the economy, and social respect, has forced people to live upto the expectations

with which an individual vibrates and invests himself, at any cost. Hence an individual goes on hunting for employment or opportunity where he can approximate himself to this concept of development. A few individuals have found that migration to the Gulf countries would satisfy these modern concepts, which the society expects from an individual and marks the prestige, respect and the dignity of the individual. This haunting concept of development leaves the migrant frustrated. Moreover, it has reduced the migrant at the destination to a mere drudge in the hand of the employers. He has forced himself to the work process to meet the demand of the present expectation of the developmental ethos in terms of acquisition of modern luxuries. The higher the individual earns, the greater the luxuries and facilities that have been introduced in the name of development which most of the time forces individual to struggle to reach or achieve. Therefore, the unfulfilled desires lead the migrant into stress and depression.

To single out the precise reasons for migration would be difficult. It is due to the nature of migration itself. There are innumerable factors which influence an individual's decision to migrate. However, the reasons for migration can be divided into two parts, the push factors and the pull factors. The push factors could be identified as internal or external force having a strong influence. This force makes an individual to participate in the process of migration whether he is actually willing to do it or not. The reasons for the push factors can be enumerated as unemployment, underemployment, debt, subdivision and fragmentation of landholdings.

Self motivation has led a human being to migrate to other countries. Development, attractive employment opportunities, and higher professional education also motivates and attracts a person

to another country. This may be called as the pull factors. Here, the individual's voluntariness is the predominant factor. In this case an individual may be well employed in the existing condition but because of certain genuine links or information through his close friends or relatives may pursuade him to go for still higher position, which may motivate him to take a decision to migrate. Most migrations in modern times are motivated by economic factors. Studies have shown that migrants have tried to improve their economic position by going to the place where economic opportunities and remuneration appear to be higher.[17]

In the case of rural to urban migration, studies have shown that people mostly move out of their village due to the lack of availability of land, unemployment and under employment.[18] Migration is also an alternative source of income to the poor for their survival whereas the rich do so for better economic pursuits.[19] Some studies point out that the population pressure is one of the major causes for international migration.[20] The presence of the relatives and friends at the place of destination has been referred by the earlier studies as an influencing factor for the migration process.[21] The rapid industrialization and urbanization in the developing countries also resulted in large scale rural to urban migration.[22] Studies have also been carried out in order to understand the reasons for migration by understanding and observing the characteristics of the migrants. For instance, Simkins and Wernstedt tried to understand the causes of migration by analyzing the characteristics of migrants on the argument that people migrate to a particular area in accordance with the opportunities available there.[23] There is enough evidence to show that the young and educated individuals have the highest opportunity to migrate.[24]

There are ample references in the earlier studies to establish the predominance of the male migrants.[25] An observation has also been made that migrants are mostly from large families.[26] Bogue opines that there are three groups of variables which can be identified in terms of (i) socio-economic conditions affecting migration like major capital investment, technological changes, migration regulation and social welfare provisions, (ii) migration stimulating situations such as graduation, marriage, employment and natural disaster, (iii) the factors instrumental in choosing a destination such as cost of moving, presence of relatives, friends, social context, employment .opportunities, and heresay information.[27] Looking into Gulf migration in the light of the push and pull factors, it can be analyzed that among the Gulf migrants, majority of them come under pull factors due to the high returns from the working place. In general, it is observed that migration especially in modern times, is motivated by economic factors. There is no doubt that migration has also been caused due to the social, political, religious and other reasons, but the predominant factor has been economic.

How does one migrate?

In the process of migration several aspects prompted and induced the migrant to reach the destination. The concept of migration itself is the imitative concept. People who have already migrated either a person of one's circle or a neighbour migrant, with whom he has a relation or friendship is taken as a model. This concept of migration influences a person at the native place to take the initiative to migrate. This personalized concept of migration is changed and promoted to actualize one's dream and the prospective migrant looks for a helping hand from the people

who already know the Gulf. In most of the cases recorded in the earlier studies it is observed that the social network has worked effectively in promoting an individual to join the process of migration. A migrant at the destination generally remains isolated and he is always psychologically nostalgic about his home and his native place. Therefore, opportunities at the destination prompt him to extend the same to other people whom he knows at the native place. Hence his friends and relatives have become the social network in building the life of people at the native. Thus the friends and relatives arrange jobs, visa and accommodation at the destination. Landies has expressed that the presence of relatives and friends seems to be an attractive force to decide the choice of destination for a good majority of migrant families.[28]

If this is the case of a few, others realized the dreams of migration through the agents, official channels, and advertisements. The dream of migration to the Gulf countries never materialize to the poorest of the poor due to the expenses incurred in the whole process. It has been an expensive affair in terms of travel, accommodation, visa and the procurement of other legal documents. Thus collecting funds to meet the expenses of migration has been an adventurous exercise for most of the aspirants. As it is rightly noted the relatives helped the migrant both morally and monetarily.[29] Most of the migrants pool the finance individually by raising loans, selling the land, gold and taking interest free loans. Several cases where the relatives and friends have come to the aid of the migrant in meeting the expenses have been observed. Previous mobility experience has been found to be closely related to the future migration of individuals and families.[30] The families who live outside the local community show a higher

propensity to migrate. The earlier migration experience indicates that the families have a considerable influence on the potential migrants.

The process of socialization has been affected due to migration. The people who move out of their local community and stay in the cities come to know about the opportunities available in the Gulf. The experience of migration of the individuals provides the necessary impetus for their movements to the Gulf countries.[31] Migrants should be aware of the legal aspects pertaining to migration. Ignorance or deliberate breaking of law may land the migrants in trouble. One more aspect of early migration to the Gulf is the element of illegal migration. This refers to the movement of individuals from India to the other regions without proper documents. The number of illegal migrants from India to several countries of the Middle East has become so large that reports of their arrests and punishment appear in the newspapers.[32] Many of the migrants who had landed in Gulf countries had no work permit; most of them journeyed to these countries from Bombay by the Arab ships. There are several cases of people who lost their lives in the process. The difficulties of life especially, the economic need has pushed them to take this kind of risky adventures for their livelihood.

Social Impact of Migration

Social impact of migration has been exhaustively discussed by the scholars in the past. Social impact is seen on the changing status of women in rural communities, their independent decisions in day to day household activities, management of finance in the absence of a male member, looking after the aged people, children

and their education. The impact of migration is of two types - short term and long term. Short term impact is felt immediately after the migrant leaves home, long term impact is felt in the course of a few years.[33] The women left behind are faced with a situation that is not only challenging in terms of various responsibilities that they have to shoulder but also mentally demanding. They have to condition their minds to stay without their male counterparts and to be able to emotionally face the separation that the Gulf employment entails.[34]

International labor migration has played an important role in changing the status of women in rural communities. The attention of a large portion of studies has rested either on the consequence of migration on the sending and receiving areas or on the male movers.[35] The studies have also pointed out the negative aspects of male migration on families such as, family dissolution, psychological stress of women, rise in suicide rates, and break down of traditional family systems.[36] Thus the previous studies make a general observation of the social impact due to migration on their families.

Economic Impact of Migration

The labor exporting countries like India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka have found relief from a worsening balance of trade position due to labor export to the Middle East during 1983 to 1984. Rashid Amjad states that in countries like India, the financial flows triggered by international migration have had a dominant impact on the balance of payment of all the labor exporting countries. At a time when massive increase in imports and international recession put severe pressures on the countries balance of payment, remittance offered a much needed relief.[37] Ashwani Saith says that, what the migration phenomenon does

achieve is firstly a transformation in the position of the sending economy with respect to the state of its foreign exchange balances and secondly easing of the employment imbalances.[38] The remittance sent by the migrant to the native country has made a great impact on the labor market. It has improved the regional economy of the state. As it is observed by Prakash B.A. the impacts were substantial in some districts where the intensity of the Gulf migration was high. This impact is seen in the forms of "consumption, savings, investment, poverty and income distribution of the region."[39] Ramachandra Nair observed that the money sent by the migrant has helped the family to improve the living standard at the native. The remittance is also used at the place of origin to purchases land and construct houses.[40]

The flow of income into the migrant's household has changed the life style of the migrant's family. The household income before migration usually depended on the wage of labor which had been a seasonal one but the migration could alter their economic situation.[41] The earlier studies present the beneficial economic impact on the household of the migrants due to migration.

Problems of Migration

Migration has its own pros and cons. The problems attached to migration are explicit in the earlier studies and research. In the process of migration different segments of people are affected primarily, the migrant himself and others like the family, community and country. These segments can be looked at from a closer view: one, the problems of the migrant himself and two, the problems of the migrant's family. In the process of migration it is the migrant who encounters a number of problems in his life. Apart from better prospects, high remittances, acceleration of his standard

of living, economic security, the problems and pains faced by the migrant are serious factors to be noted. The migrant is under psychological, economic, social and physiological pressure during the migration period.

Every individual is made up of cells, organs and systems, yet the predominating psychological aspect in him cannot be ignored. The migrant is ultimately a unit of the family. A family otherwise consists of a group of people having blood relationship and psychologically knit together. When an individual is taken away from his family unit, may be for the better prospects, he will be psychologically affected because he has to leave his family behind at the place of origin. It is the family which gives an individual psychological happiness, emotional comforts and encouragement for pursuance. In the absence of it he becomes an orphan. This psychological imbalance will lead to unhappiness and frustration. He may become an isolated individual from the other relatives around him. So the psychological and emotional wants will haunt him everyday in his life at the destination. This emotional imbalance may lead to health related problems and keep him unhappy amidst abundant wealth.

The biological reality of a migrant automatically demands a consistency in life style. The migrant's place of origin will differ in environment and temperature from that of the destination because of the weather and climatic condition. This will demand a lot of efforts from the migrant to adjust himself to the new geographical conditions. Since it is the younger generation who migrates leaving behind their wives, the sexual urge in the migrant may remain unfulfilled. Migration causes the migrant to be deprived of love and attachment towards his children due to the separation. The migrant loses the opportunity to see his children growing on his

lap. This gap will grow and continue in his future life too. The migrant seems to play the role of a 'Santa Claus' distributing sweets, consumer durables once in two years or more, than become a father to the children. The long period of separation between the husband and the wife might automatically lead to sexual perversion, thereby creating social deviation.

In general, the migrant becomes an isolated member at the destination. He may not get a chance to practice his religion or perform his religious duties freely. Food habit is also one more problem the migrant may face. The native food habits may not be in practice at the destination. Therefore, either he has to cook for himself or has to adjust to the available food. Gulf countries being different in social structure give minimum importance to entertainment. Differences in culture, language and way of life once again deprive them from having entertainment to spend their leisure. The migrant is always considered a second class citizen at the destination. He will never be looked at or be given equal opportunities and facilities that are given to the natives at the destination. The migrant is just a machine in the hands of the employers. Thus a sense of alienation creeps into his mind. He becomes a stranger to everything to the culture, religion, rules and regulations at the destination and always strives to belong to his origin.

The family being the integral part of the migrant, there is no doubt the problems affecting the migrant also influence the family. In most of the cases the migrant may be the head of the family and will have to pass on this responsibility either to his wife or parents. Hence there may be a temporary instability in the household administration. The family members have to look after so many

things in the house like financial allocation, management of agriculture, education of children, health problems of the family members, participating in the social gatherings and keeping in touch with the migrants. Sekher T.V. in his interesting qualitative study of two villages in Kerala, finds that women left behind due to male migration to the Middle East adjusted very well to the challenges and in the process have become more independent and capable individuals. But the female sex roles reverted after the return of the migrant husbands.[42]

Migration has been the topic of scholastic pursuits in the past. The studies have elaborated their understanding of migration at a particular time with reference to a definite migrative process. Apart from their understanding, it is clear that migration takes place in the modern times primarily for economic reasons. Hence the migrants cope with all the hurdles and problems that they encounter at the destination in order to fulfill the primary motive for which they have migrated. These studies primarily focus on the impact of migration to the Middle East on the economic, social and investment fields in their respective states. The contribution of the migrants of Dakshina Kannada on the economy of the nation may not be as large as migrants of Kerala but it is not that negligible to be ignored.

In India, though Kerala accounts for sending the largest number of emigrants to the Gulf countries, Dakshina Kannada district which is adjacent to the Kerala state and a part of the coastal belt is equally responsible for sending a large number of emigrants to the Gulf countries. There are a few studies from India which have examined the impact of migration on the economy, social aspects of migrants family and economy at the macro level.

But there are no studies to look into the impact of migration on the economic and social condition of Dakshina Kannada district. In this study an attempt is made to examine the problems, migrants face at the destination, the problems faced by the women left behind and the aged parents of the migrants at the native place within braod socio-economic and historical context of Dakshina Kannada. In other words, this thesis makes an attempt to examine the Gulf migration, and its impact on the society and economy of Dakshina Kannada. In the next chapter, a detailed discussion on the social and economic context of the district is presented.

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CHAPTER II

DAKSHINA KANNADA AND GULF MIGRATION

CHAPTER – 2

DAKSHINA KANNADA AND GULF MIGRATION

This chapter attempts to give a detailed picture of the district of Dakshina Kannada in terms of its social structure, economy and people. Dakshina Kannada which was formerly known as South Kanara is situated on the western coast of Karnataka. Compared to other parts of the state, the region has many distinctions. In terms of mainstream development, indicators such as literacy, urbanization, shift in work force and infrastructure development the district averages surpass the state and national averages. The region as mentioned in the introductory chapter is also known for its migration since time immemorial. Reasons for the faster development and migration cannot be explained by the development policies pursued by the state during the post colonial period. Because most of the districts or regions of Karnataka are extremely backward. Besides they have not been able to experience the kind of migration that has taken place in Dakshina Kannada inspite of the uniform development policies pursued by the state. So we have to search for an alternative explanation for these developments. Such an explanation would be more meaningful if it is rooted in the social history of the region. In other words we have to go deep into the social history of the district to understand the special features of the district. In this chapter, an attempt is made to identify the historical facts which might have contributed to migration and also for the faster development of the district. This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one deals with the Dakshina Kannada during the Colonial period and part two deals with the Dakshina Kannada during the post-Colonial period.

The Colonial Dakshina Kannada

The district is situated on the western coast of India. Total area of the district is 4866 square k.m.[1] The Udupi district is situated in the northern side of the district whereas in the south lies Kodagu district of Karnataka and Kasaragod district of Kerala. The Hassan and Chickmagalore districts are situated in the eastern side of the Dakshina Kannada district. On the western side is the Arabian sea. The physical features of Dakshina Kannada include three major regions. They are – one, the coastal region, two, the inland region, and three, the malnad hilly region. Mangalore taluk is in the coastal region. The main crops of the coastal region are paddy, pulses, sugarcane and coconut. The inland of the district consists of hilly regions like Bantwal, Puttur and some parts of the Belthangady taluk. The crops of the region are coconut, arecanut, and rubber. The malnad region consists of thick forest and is known for its greenery. Sullia and some parts of Belthangady taluk are included in this region. The district has several rivers such as Nethravathi, Kumaradhara, Payasvini, Gurupura and Shambavi. All these rivers have their origins in the Western Ghats and join the Arabian Sea.

In the view of Caldwell the name of the district 'Canara'– Kannada or Karnata has been derived, from the Dravidian words 'ker'(black) and 'nadu' (country). Gradually, the name 'Karnata' corrupted into 'Kannada'. The English name 'Canara' eventually was confined to the western coast. The Canara district was under the Madras presidency upto the year 1860. It is in the year 1862 that the Canara district was divided into North Canara and South Canara.[2] In the year 1977, the name 'South Canara'was changed to Dakshina Kannada. Earlier the Dakshina Kannada district consisted of eight taluks which have been grouped into three revenue sub-

divisions, namely, Kundapur, Mangalore and Puttur. The eight taluks were Bantwal, Belthangady, Karkala, Kundapur, Mangalore, Puttur, Sullia and Udupi. In the year 1997 the Government of Karnataka divided the district into Udupi and Dakshina Kannada districts.[3] Three taluks in the northern part of the district, namely, Kundapur, Udupi and Karkala now constitute the new Udupi district while the remaining five taluks, Mangalore, Bantwal, Puttur, Sullia and Belthangady make the new Dakshina Kannada district.

The traditional socio-economic structure of Dakshina Kannada was not different from that of the other regions. The general features of the social structure like the different religious sections, and the different castes within the Hindu society can also be found in this region. The population of the region includes Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Jains. According to 1891 census report, the total population of Hindus is 81.68%, 10.60% of the total population were Muslims, 6.75% were Christians and 1% were others. The Hindu population is sub-divided into a number of castes. The 1895–census presents data on caste and the occupation. In this census castes such as Billavas, Brahmins, Bunts, Holeyas, Hill Tribals, Gowdas, Devadigas, Temple Servants, Artisan caste, Hajams and other Barber castes, Derjis and other Tailoring castes, Agasa and other washerman castes, Ganigas, Kumbaras, Mugeras and other fisherman castes, Samagaras and other leather workers, Marathis, Nairs, Kshatriyas and other Hindu castes were documented.[4]

Basically the people of Dakshina Kannada are agrarians and dependent on agricultural products. This is clear from the land lord and tenant system which has prevalent in the district. During the pre-colonial period land revenue was the most important source of income to the state. Under the system of Ryotwari, peasants who

held a plot of land were considered as the landlords and they were directly responsible for the payment of the annual land revenue to the government.[5] Under the British government, possessing of land was a complicated and indefinitive system. It made the farmers and laborers insecure. The whole land owning system is divided into different categories. The significant categories among them were the tenants. Tenants were divided into four types–Mulagenis, Khayamgenies, Vaidagenies, and Chalgenies. The Mulageni tenants possessing hereditary rights perpectually need to pay a fixed rent. Khayamgeni tenants who hold the land on a permanent rent or lease only differ in name from the Mulagenies. The third class represents tenants who hold land on lease for a limited period while, the fourth represents those who hold land on a temporary lease and renew it every year.[6] In the northern part of the district, the Mulageni system or permanent lease was in practice. In the Mulageni system though the rent was paid annually, the tenant enjoyed the status of a landlord, as long as he paid the rent regularly.

In the southern part of the district the Chalgeni system was prevalent where the land was given to the tenants for a period of a year. This kind of a system did not cultivate among the tenants a feeling of ownership on the land they possessed. Therefore, they did not give any attention towards improving the land. The crude and unscientific kind of agricultural practices had failed in producing adequate returns. The yield they reaped from the land could neither satisfy their requirements nor could they pay the rent for the land which they cultivated. Rent for the land was revised every year demanding the farmers to pay more than the previous year. Hence, the tenants spent much more than the returns they got from the land. So they had to continue to be debtors to the owner of their land perpectually. This kind of system pushed the tenants

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into the shackles of bondage. Ultimately, the system made him a manual laborer instead of a owner.

Under the Chalgeni tenant system, the tenants were always at the mercy of their landlord and were never free from debt. Stuart opines that a year's debt could only be paid next year and thus there always was a year's unpaid debt unless a fortunate year of plenty should intervene and enable them to pay it off. Taking all kinds of tenants together less than 5% were in relatively comfortable condition, while about 20% were obliged to borrow on different occasions and to keep the agricultural stock. The remaining three fourth of the tenants were no better than the farm laborers. So the farmers undoubtedly had to live a poverty ridden life.[7] The small tenants were subjected to prolonged exploitation by the colonial administration and by the local upper sections of the society. The colonial administration collected tax irrepsective of the quantity of their produce of the year.

Along with this economic exploitation, the people of upper castes subjected the lower castes to social and cultural humiliation. When that was the condition of the farmers one could easily guess the condition of the laboring castes in the district. Stuart states that the laborers like the Holeyas or Pariahs had not been familiar with cash payment system.[8] Instead, the payment was made in the form of grains, rice or paddy. Their wage was measured in 'seers' of grains. This kind of payment differs from men to women and children. The wage of men was generally 1 seer or 2 seers. For women 2/3 seer to 2 seer and for children 3/8 seer to one seer. The wage differed from place to place because of specific local reasons. The whole working family was attached to the farms but when their master did not require their labor he sent them to work elsewhere.

The wages also varied according to the castes to which laborer belonged.[9]

In this way, during the colonial period the agrarian scenerio of the district was highly polarized. On the one side, there was a small number of people with large landholdings, and on the other side we could see a large number of tenants with a small piece of land. Besides, the condition of small tenants was pathetic.They toiled from dawn to dusk just to meet their basic requirements. All these factors forced the small tenants and the laboring caste to migrate. Infact the coffee plantations (once again, the creation of colonial masters) of Kodagu and Chikmagalur came like a boon to the toiling masses of the district. There was some real migration from South Canara to Kodagu. The emigrants were predominantly males and it shows very clearly that the migration was one of laborers. The majority of these laborers worked in coffee plantations in Kodagu and they returned to their native villages every year after the harvest. The migrants received a little higher payment. It was also customary to give a 'cumbly' (blanket) to the laborers in the ghat regions to cover themselves from the damp and cold weather.[10]

Trade and Migration

When the agrarian system forced the working class and small tenants to migrate, the trading activities of the district worked as a pull factor for migration. The trade between Canara and Arabia existed from the very early days as Arab traders were actually establishing themselves on the west coast during the fourth and fifth century A.D. Thus Canara became an important trading center primarily because of the vast coastal region. During the British period the colonial commercial interests influenced the economic activities of the region. The colonial administration while

sustaining the cultivation of the food crops encouraged the cultivation of commercial crops too. These commercial crops were the primary raw materials for the British industries. In the bargain, growing of food grains was totally neglected. Therefore, people have had to pay a higher price for the food products in the market. Commercialization of agriculture instead of becoming a boon to the farmers, turned out to be a curse. Since the food grains were scarce in the market, the peasants had to pay a higher price. Commercialization of agriculture and emphasis on trade led to the development of transportation, roads, railways, communication and formation of towns. This, in turn, facilitated migration. Besides, there were some compelling factors to push the people out of their native place in search of work. The cultivation of the commercial crops could not absorb the whole labor force throughout the year because of its seasonal nature. Thus immediately after the harvesting season a large number of farmers were left jobless.

In the meantime the British government undertook the construction of railways and roadways. The purpose behind it was to export agricultural and industrial products to England and other foreign countries. So the surplus manual labor could find work with the road and railway contractors. The topography of the district was not conducive for railway tracks. Most of the railway tracks were laid in the interior parts of Karnataka such as Bellary, Bidar and other plain lands. So the laborers from the disctrict migrated to such areas to work for the railway contractors. In a way, commercialization of agriculture facilitated migration to places like Bombay. The important articles exported from the district were coffee, rice, paddy, bricks, arecanut, sandalwood, sandalwood oil, cardamom, saltfish, hide and horns. The coffee grown in Chikmagalur and Kodagu was brought to Mangalore for curing after which it was exported to the foreign countries, primarily to England, France, Persia and Arabia. Since Bombay port was

accommodating foreign ships, it was easier for the British to export the goods to their country from Bombay. Therefore, coffee was first taken to Bombay and then to the foreign countries. Rice was one of the important crops of the district, of which a large portion was exported. The rice trade was carried on at Hangarakatta and sent to Persia and Arabia. Another important item of export was arecanut. All the produce of the district was exported mainly to Kathiwar and Cutch, and the remainder to Bombay. Trade in bricks and tiles was restricted to Bombay consisting mainly of machine made tiles of the Basel mission.[11]

Sandal wood was traded in large quantities to Bombay. A small portion of the sandalwood oil was sent to Bombay but much of it found its way to China. Coir yarn manufactured was exported through Bombay and Calcutta. Cardamom was grown in the district in very large plantations at Neriya near Belthangady of Uppinangady taluk (now Puttur taluk). But most of it came from Chikmagalur and Kodagu, of which more than half was sent to Bombay, about a third, to England and a small quantity to France, Arabia, Persia and Zanzibar. The saltfish industry had been rapidly extending in Dakshina Kannada. Out of the total catch, about a third was exported to Ceylon (Srilanka) and the remainder to other parts of India. Hides and horns were exported mostly through Bombay.Three fourth of the sea borne trade was carried on at the port of Mangalore by the British India Company. The whole cost of the sea borne trade could be estimated at Rs.150 lakhs. Nearly three or four steamers used to take coffee from India to Europe. In addition to this, other large steamers or sailing vessels also used to carry coffee to other countries. Since the Bombay port was a natural one it was easier for the ships, steamers and the sailing vessels to anchor near the port. In other parts of India where these big ships could not anchor, other carriers like machwars and pattimars were used to supply the goods. So around 2000 machwars entered the

port of Mangalore to carry the goods from other places annually.[12] The produce of goods of all parts of the district was transported to the port by cattle. Both cattle and boats were used for transportation. The above trading connections with the above trading centers facilitated migration from the district.

Colonial Intervention and Migration

A closer analysis of Dakshina Kannada history obviously demonstrates the intervention of the British. The rules and systems of possessing lands, difficulties of mobilizing agricultural crops, complexities of establishing small scale industries, and the lack of encouragement to pursue business have necessarily led the people into becoming poor agricultural bonded laborers. Gradually, land came directly under the control of the big landlords, and a major portion of the people lost their lands and turned into landless laborers. The option before them was to choose an employment which paid them higher wages at a distant place or to remain at the native and work for less wages. Most of the laboring castes opted for the first option. They used different links to move to different parts of India to earn their livelihood. Among those places Gulf countries were also included. So for the people of Dakshina Kannada, migration to the Gulf countries was not a new thing. The information about the job opportunities in the Gulf countries was passed on to other natives by word of mouth by the migrants during their holidays. Migration to the Gulf countries from Dakshina Kannada was facilitated by the colonial masters. The British used to take cheap laborers from India to improve their colonies in the Gulf. As the years passed, the people who went with the colonial masters to the Gulf countries found increasing demand for labor there. During their periodic visits to the native place they spread

this information to their relatives and friends. Thus, others also joined them and migrated to the British Gulf colonies.

Majority of the people in the district were basically farmers. The colonial intervention or the technological modernity introduced by the British brought the people face to face with new realities and possibilities of life. The selfish motive of the British prompted them to convert the system of agriculture into a commercial one. There was a sudden shift from agriculture to industry. For the growth of industries at the center people in the district were forced to grow raw materials. Thus agricultural activities recieved little attention. In reality, the growth of industries at the center made the farmers poor. It took away their handicrafts and thus left them unemployed. The land tenure system like Chalgeni, Mulageni, Khayamgeni and Vaidageni left most of the farmers landless. The only option left to them was to be employed outside the district. A journey out of their place of origin for livelihood was inevitable. People had to leave their villages in search of employment. They went to work in places like Kodagu, Chikmaglur, Bellary, Bombay and Madras.

Places like Bombay and Madras became familiar to the people of the district because they had been in one or another way involved in transporting the goods to the British from different parts of the district. The growth in trade had automatically absorbed a large portion of workers in the city and the wages received from their employment in the city were better than the wages received from their landlords. The boatsmen and other transporters had a link with the trading centers of Bombay. They often visited these trading centers. They came to know about the employment opportunities in these places. This indirectly facilitated the process of migration.

The growth in business had given rise to banks. Five banks which took birth during the colonial period were raised to the status of national banks. They were Canara Bank, Syndicate Bank, Corporation Bank, Karnataka Bank and Vijaya Bank. In the early phase of their formation they established branches in the neighbouring district and later in provinces. Initially people belonging to the disctict and also to the community which founded the bank were recruited in the banks. So it was inevitable for the bank employees to work in other regions. The process of migration has been a common feature in every period of history and the colonial period is not an exception. During the colonial period people had to face challenges from the colonial masters and that made them move to other places. The forced labor during the colonial period was to improve the other colonies of the British. This prompted migration. Trade too explored new horizons and opportunities. People engaged in trade and business tried to grab these new opportunities and in turn became the participants in the process of migration.

The history of Dakshina Kannada indicates that people used to migrate for economic reasons to the nearby ghats. Slowly migration is extended to far away places like Bombay and Madras. It is seen that Dakshina Kannada district and Bombay were well connected for the purpose of trade. In 1845 the Mumbai Steam Navigation started. Bombay was the commercial capital of India even during olden days.[13] The setting up of ship building industry in 1735 started attracting laborers and artisans from different places.[14] Bombay was under the direct control of the British rule. There was a practice of exporting goods from Bombay port mainly because of the convenience. There was also a practice of shifting laborers from one place to another by the British masters. In the

second half of the nineteenth century, the city of Bombay witnessed a phenomenal growth of industries with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Several international passenger steamer liners extended their operation to Mumbai by which the overseas commercialization of Bombay improved considerably. The Suez Canal explored new opportunities for migration internationally. Often trade was the binding force for the people to migrate to the distant places. The awareness of the job opportunities in the foreign countries was brought to India since the colonial invasion owing to the colonial exploitation of Indian laborers.

The Post Colonial Dakshina Kannada

Dakshina Kannada of colonial and pre-colonial context was depicted in the above pages. Discussion on the social history of the district invariably included discussions on the economic structures, trade relations and their role in promoting migration. The internal migration owing to the British influence is also highlighted. Moreover, the profession and the job opportunities that prevailed during the time are also enumerated. An attempt is made in the following pages to situate the social, economic, industrial and agricultural environment of Dakshina Kannada district during the post-colonial period and also to examine their role in promoting migration.

The district continued to be an agrarian society even in the post colonial period. Governments, both at the center and the state, have tried to implement various developmental policies. As said above the district primarily depended on agriculture. At the same time population also increased. Increased population could not be accommodated in the agricultural sector. As Dambly C.B. has rightly said "Land was scarce labor was plenty and rapid growth of

population added pressure on the available agro economic resources."[15] To make the things worse the age old tenant system continued in the post colonial period also. Right from the colonial period the southern district (now the new district) had been suffering from the Chalgeni tenant system. But after independence also the condition of tenants did not change much.[16] So in the year 1957 the Government of Karnataka appointed a committee known as the Mysore Tenancy and Agricultural Land Law Committee to introduce reforms in the tenancy system. The committee reported a bill in 1962 and it came into force 1965.[17] There are conflicting views on the impact of land reforms legislation in the district. The government has claimed a success rate of 77.7% in 1974.[18] But the research study of Damble C.B. reports only 27.9% success rate.[19]

The gap between the formulation and implementation of the land reforms act might have affected land reforms. It failed to bring about the expected results. There are other reasons for its failure and delayed implementation. The primary reason is that the landlords belonged to the upper castes and engaged in trades and professions like the banking, lawyers and doctors. The poor farmers had to depend on these people for different services which they monopolized. So the poor tenants had to live at the mercy of those landlords. In some cases the farmers were reluctant to apply for declaration. The other reason is that some of the diplomatic landlords who were aware of the forthcoming rules and regulations settled the matter by a compromise with the tenants. So, they could get a half of the total land which was rented out to the tenants. No doubt, in course of time, the joint families divided their land among successive generations. This subdivision and fragmentation of land led many of the agriculturists to become small farmers and the

small farmers naturally became landless laborers. These developments added to the growth of surplus labor and also exerted pressure on the limited land.

Whatever may be the counter claims about the impact of the land reforms, there is no doubt that the land reforms act has succeeded in changing the socio-economic structure of the district. It has led to the creation of surplus labor which the agricultural sector could not absorb. The surplus labor should have been absorbed in the secondary sector. But the condition of the secondary sector was not all that promising. The surplus labor resulting due to the division of lands by land reforms tried to absorb itself in sectors like cottage industries and agro based industries. But the employment opportunities created by these sectors were negligible. As it is rightly pointed out by Chandra Poojary "the work force which was engaged in the secondary sector was only 15.31% in 1961 and increased to 32.37% in 1991. However, within the secondary sector it was the household industry which dominated the scene upto 1981. In 1961, 6.88% of the labor force of the secondary sector was engaged in household industry and 7.59% in other than household industry. The percentage of labor force in household industries increased to 11.55% in 1971 and further rose to 16.14% in 1981.[20] Thus an underdeveloped secondary sector, which could otherwise have absorbed the labor released because of land reforms, forced the working population to return their traditional occupations.

These facts substantiate the argument that the cottage industries and the developmental works initiated by the Government could not accommodate the surplus labor in the post-colonial period. The people began to look forward to alternative employment. As it is argued by Chandra Poojary "with the ultimate

aim of realizing the factors of production from the clutches of the traditional society, the Government of Karnataka implemented the land reforms in keeping with the policies of Central Government. The land reforms in Karnataka state succeeded in creating a large proletariat instead of redistributing the resources. This class so released from the clutches of traditional bonds could not find ready employment in the secondary sector which was still in its infancy at that period."[21] From this it evident that the surplus labor had no alternatives during the 1950's and 1970's. Hence a large part of the districts labor had to go in search of employment. So it became inevitable to the people of the district to migrate either to the nearby ghats (Kodagu or Chikmagalur) or to fast growing industrial center like Bombay.

Banks, Hotels and Migration

The district is known for its banking ventures and rated as the most highly banked district in the country. There are nearly 23 banks originating from the district starting from the colonial period. Out of 27 nationalized banks 4 banks are from the district. The main four nationalized banks viz., Canara Bank, Corporation Bank, Syndicate Bank, and Vijaya Bank had their birth in the district.[22] In the colonial period these banks were started on community basis and obviously, recruitment also had been done on community basis. In the early 70s these banks were nationalized. The nationalization of banks have made serious impression of employment on the upper castes. The banking sector till its nationalization absorbed candidates from their own community. The sudden nationalization of the banks had taken away the opportunities of appointing their own people (lying with the major communities of the region) by introducing new policies of appointment. This new policy had become a startling reality to the upper strata of the society and

resulted in their unemployment. This has made the upper castes people to go in search of employment in other places.

The contribution of the people of Dakshina Kannada in the field of hotel industry is enormous. They have set up hotels in the nook and corners of the nation. Though the development of Hotel Industry started at the dawn of the century, the rapid growth in this field is seen after the implementation of the land reforms act. Most of the hotels that are owned by the people of Dakshina Kannada are started by the higher caste Brahmins, Konkanas and Bunts. The land reforms act has brought a revolutionary change in the land owning system. Because of this act, the land lords, mostly the people of upper castes, became landless. Moreover, the land left with them could not provide enough revenue for their livelihood. The implementation of land reforms obviously has affected the condition of the erstwhile landlords and has left them with no option but to go out in search for employment. The prestige and social respect they had been enjoying in the district had become an obstacle for them to be employed under somebody in the same district. Hence being good cooks they have opted to start hotel business outside the district and have become the owners of hotels. These people have also taken along with them the people of the district to work in hotels. Thus hotels have provided employment to many unemployed youth of the district.

Even among the upper castes in the district like the Brahmins there are small farmers, tenants and poor laborers. Some of the poor Brahmins have opted for cooking. So poor Brahmins have become cooks in their own rich families, instead of doing manual work in the fields and gradually have started cafeterias in towns. The small hotel business has given a platform to these petty hotel owners and has provided opportunities to interact with businessmen and the

public. This has motivated them to start hotel business outside the district and in the cities like Bombay, Madras and Bangalore. During 1912-13, Kenmar Venkappaya started the first such South Indian Hotel in Bombay. Later on Hebbar started the Modern Hindu Military Hotel and other hotels and restaurants. A person named Ramu started hotel business during 1935-36 in Bombay under the name of Udupi Boarding. K. Sita Rama Rao started hotel business at Madras under the name of "Modern Café" and "Das Prakash Hotel". The Woodlands Hotel started its branch in New York in 1976.[23]

Development of the District

Various studies undertaken to measure the development at the district level, for instance, the census of India of 1961 identified the districts in the country at four levels of development, viz, the bottom, the second, the third and the top levels. Based on this, Dakshina Kannada was placed at the third level of development in 1961.[24] The programme administration division of the planning commission has stated that in the order Dakshina Kannada stands third among the different districts in the state. In 1969 the Bureau of Economics and Statistics conducted a study and stated that weightage is assigned corresponding to the importance of socio-economic indicators employed. According to this the weighted mean ranking of the district was 2 among the districts of the state.[25] The Planning Department, Government of Karnataka analyzed the development during 1960-61 to 1970-71, based on certain indicators and declared Dakshina Kannada District as highly developed by taking the overall condition of the district.[26] It is evident that Dakshina Kannada was categorized as developed in 1971-72 and ranked second in the state. In the year 1981-82 and 1991-92 the district ranked second in the state.[27] The human development index represented that the level of living in the district stands third.

The progress in education among the people has given the people of Dakshina Kannada a new world view of economic development. Education has encouraged the people to think of alternative employment when agricultural sector and industrial sector could not accommodate them. The people could think of migration and the reward of this process has encouraged them to take a bold step and become one among many in the process of migration. The economic revival in the post colonial period has made the people move out of their countries. In the colonial period migration was restricted to certain specific places, but in the post colonial period migration has extended to other parts of the world. The economic revival all over the world has attracted laborers from different parts of the world and the Gulf countries are no exception. The sudden hike in oil prices also increased the employment opportunities in the Gulf countries. Better wages and better prospects in the Gulf countries have made people of Dakshina Kannada to migrate to the Gulf countries. This opportunity has showed a silver line in the life of the unskilled and semi-skilled laborers of Dakshina Kannada. The large scale migration from the neighbouring state of Kerala to the Middle East also influenced the labor flow from the district. Migration and development have moved hand in hand from time immemorial.

The post-colonial period has brought programs such as literacy, land reforms act, and programs for agricultural development, promotion of industrial sector, development of infrastructure and numerous other developmental programs. It has also helped people to a large extent to live independently. The population growth, divisions & segmentation in the land among the family members made the people struggle hard for their livelihood. The piece of land they possessed is not sufficient to earn their

livelihood. Thus they had to look for alternative income. Simultaneously, rapid growth of industrialization in urban places, sudden hike in petrol prices in the international market, application of modern technology in transportation have made the world into a global village and have attracted a good number of laborers to meet the increasing demand. The information and communication system has developed in tremendous speed. This has made the people in the nook and corners of the district to be aware of the available opportunities in different places. All these reasons have made the people of the district to look for an employable destination where they can fulfill their needs, desires and earn a handful income. Thus migration has started long back and still continues.

The history of the district is in a way history of migration. In the pre-colonial period people used to migrate to certain royal centers like Hampi, Mysore and Srirangapattana. In the colonial context the whole story of migration takes a different shape. There were some fundamental changes in the regional divisions, agrarian systems, way of life of the people, occupation of the people, administrative divisions, socio-economic structures, and form of government. All these factors individually and jointly contributed for migration in one form or the other. For example the exploiting land relations compelled the tenants to leave the villages and find some employment in the nearby town at the first instance and later move to other growing big towns or cities. In the same way the trade relations established as a part of larger colonial design brought the people of the region face to face with several problems and also with some opportunities. Some to convert the problems into opportunities migrated to far away places. In the post-colonial period a number of developmental policies were implemented in the district. Of them certain policies had direct relation with promoting

migration. They are land reforms act, promotion of industrial sector, development of infrastructure, and bank nationalization. The foregone analysis of districts social history strengthens the argument that migration is imbibed in the very notion of development. With the development of the district the rate of migration has also increased with the only difference that earlier people used to migrate to nearby places now they migrate to distant destinations. In the next chapter we are going to see the process and causes of migration.

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CHAPTER III

HUMAN AGENCY AND GULF MIGRATION

CHAPTER – 3

HUMAN AGENCY AND GULF MIGRATION

In the previous chapter we have discussed the socio-economic dynamics of the disctict and how these dynamics created an environment where a large number of people from the district migrated to different parts of the world. Overtly it appears from the previous chapter that people migrate mainly due to economic compulsions. But is it possible to explain the whole process of migration through economic factors? Moreover, the debate in the previous chapter paid more emphasis on structures or contexts which either pushed or pulled people towards migration. In the process, the question of human agency has been ignored. To get a proper understanding of the process of migration it is necessary to consider both the structure and the human agency.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to examine the problems of human agency. To be specific this chapter concentrates on questions like who migrates, why one migrates and how one migrates. The chapter is divided into three parts. First part of the chapter deals with nature of the migrants. In this part the socio-economic background such as religion, caste, sex, marital status and education of the migrants is discussed. The second part of the chapter attempts to find the reasons of migration. Basically, the question of why one migrates is related to many other issues such as motivating factors, pull factors, push factors and other facilitating factors. The last part of the chapter explains the procedure and mode of migration.

Socio-Economic Background

In this part of the chapter social background of the migrants is presented. Religion, age, sex, marital status, and educational background are the major indicators used. The process of migration has embraced a unique segment of individuals having their own features. The socio economic conditions promoted the individuals in joining the migration process. These features of the migrants are observed in terms of their religion, age, sex, marital status and education. The religion of the migrants of the district is presented in table one. It is found that among the total sample of 82, 16 were Hindus, 42 were Muslims and 34 were Christians. These data on religion clearly indicate that Muslim community has a larger participation in the process of migration to the Gulf countries. Christians take the second place, and Hindus the third. The findings of the earlier studies regarding the religious background of the migrants are quite interesting. In a study conducted in Kerala, Sekher T.V. says that nearly 80% of the emigrants in the sample were Muslims and the remaining were Hindus[1]. In another study conducted in Kerala, the religious composition of the migrants was found to be different. Of the total migrants, 54 percent belonged to the Muslim community.[2] Zachariah K.C et.al. say that the Muslim emigrants are more in number than other community members.[3] There are other studies which found that majority of the emigrants to the Gulf countries has been Muslims[4]. Hence, the data of the earlier research work in comparison with our findings confirm that the migrants from the Muslim community are more in number than members of other religions.

How can we expalin this phenomenon? One of the simple argument one can put forward is that Gulf countries are being muslim countries, Muslims of labor surplus nations might have had

easy access. Besides, the social customs, political situation and the religious atmosphere favoured the muslim community to find employment and also to live in. On the other hand the social network, educational background, outgoing nature and flexible religious system has made the Christians to join the process of migration. From the christian community a noticeable percentage of females also joined the process of migration because of the above mentioned features. Moreover, the foreign missionaries who had come to the region to spread the gospel infused a migratory tendency among Christians. Most of the missionaries from far away places were responsible for giving information about their places, their language, culture, habits, and charitable behavior. This created a curiosity among the people to see their places. Hence the missionaries were also responsible for familiarizing the concept of migration to the Christians.

These missionaries also witnessed that people lived in foreign countries successfully in spite of the barriers of language, environment, culture, and food habits. This has encouraged and has filled the people with confidence to go on migration inspite of their lower education and unskilled status. Since the coastal belt of Dakshina Kannada has a huge population of Christians and has links with Bombay, migration to the Gulf must have been a natural phenomenon among Christians. Our data in table no. 3 present that there are no female migrants from the muslim community. Inspite of the favourable social and religious conditions to the Muslim community no Muslim woman joined the process of migration. The present study has not found female migrant from the Hindu community also.

Table. 2 shows the distribution of migrants on the basis of age and sex. It gives a broad picture of the migrants' age group and the sex to which they belong. We have classified the migrants into

three age groups. First category of migrants belong to the age group of 30 and below. In this category, we have found 21 male migrants and our sample did not find any female members under this age group. The second category is of migrants belonging to the age between 30 and 40 years. In this group we have found 28 male and 5 female migrants. The last category is of those who are aged between 40 and 50 years. In the category of 40 to 50 years we have found 25 male and 3 female migrants.From the figures relating to the distribution of migrants on the basis of age and sex, one can easily understand that the number of male members migrate from a family was more than that of the female members. Under the age category of below 30 years the sample shows that there is not a single female who migrated. Even in the age category between 30 and 40 years it is the males who were predominant i.e. 85% compared to 15% of female members. Even in the age group of 40 to 50 years it is again male who dominate in the migration to the Gulf countries. Of the total sample of 82 migrants, 74 are males, comprising 90% of the total number and 8 are females representing only 10% of the total number. Thus the figures relating to age and sex distribution show that the majority of migrants to the Gulf countries are men. The predominance of males in the migration process is also visible.[5]

In terms of age it is the category of 30 to 40 years which has more number of migrants. Migration to a Gulf country is an International migration and involves heavy cost. Most of the Gulf migrants are of lower educational level and from middle class families. This has led the migrant to put more effort in collecting information about the job opportunities in the Gulf countries and to possess passport and visa. So majority of the migrants spend their large part of time in understanding the process of migration and also to collect funds to meet the cost of migration. These reasons

have become obstacles to the younger generation to join in the process of migration before they are 30 years old. That's why in the study the migrants under the category of 30 to 40 years of age are more in number. This is contrary to the normal picture depicted by other studies.

It is generally believed that young people, that is, those who are below 30 years, take the risk of travelling to the nook and corner of the world in serach of a good employment. This is so because people who are young have high ambitions and dreams. The need of employment and self sufficiency forces the individual to find employment by any means available. One of the means readily available to them has been migration to the Gulf countries which does not require high qualification. So the figures of previous studies show that most of the migrants from villages are below 30 years. Bogue noted that persons in their late teens, 20 and 30 years appear to be more mobile than the general population[6]. Tarver also generalized that young adults are more migratory and moved further than older persons[7]. There is enough evidence from all over the world to say that the young and educated have the highest propensity to migrate[8]. The findings of Zachariah K.C. at. al., also say that the young are more prone to migrate. So far as age composition of the migrants is concerned findings of this is not in tune with the the results of the previous studies.

The analysis on the basis of the migrants' marital status shows that majority of the migrants are married. Even though all sections of the people would like to participate in migration process to promote their well being, in a way it is restricted to certain category of the people. The opportunities available at the destination might have sustained the interest of the migrant to continue to work in the Gulf even after he or she got married. In the table. 4 data relating to the migrants' marital status are given.

It is found that among 82 samples collected 64 are married i.e. 78% and 18 are unmarried comprising 22%. Hence the figures indicates that the married migrants are more in number than the unmarried ones. It is also found that at the time of their migration the migrants were unmarried and they married after the migration. To marry one has to ensure himself that he is going to receive a secure income from his employment in the Gulf countries. This is possible only after working for four to five years.

During these years the migrant comes annually to his native place and proves to the family and community his economic prosperity by bringing valuable things, investing in the construction of a house or in business. These proceedings enhance his family's social status and that in turn makes him a hot cake in the marriage market. When one reaches that position nobody can save him from the parents of the prospective brides. Since a family incurs heavy expenditure to maintain its social status, the migrant invariably continues to be a part of migration after his marriage. Moreover, the job in the native place is not that remunerative compared to the job at the migrated country. The social status of the family and efforts to sustain it compels one to be a perennial migrant. Sekher T.V. says that in the migration process, the unmarried people are more in number than the married[9]. Whereas Zachariah K.C. et. al. observes that the married people are more than the unmarried.[10] Our data confirm with the findings of later study and are in contrast with the findings of Sekher T.V. The difference may be due to region and the locality chosen in the study.

The Gulf countries invited the migrants from different countries primarily to work in the infrastracture projects. To work in those projects no skill or educational qualification was required. However, among the migrants we could find some educated also. But it is also true that most of the migrants did not have academic

qualifications. Data in the table. 5 on educational status indicates that out of 82 migrants, 17 migrants have primary level education, 22 migrants completed Secondary School Leaving Certificate, 9 migrants have completed Pre University Course, 18 of them are diploma holders, 11 migrants are degree holders and 5 of them have professional qualification. Hence the data say that majority of the migrants are from lower educational background.

Caldwell found that migration dramatically increased at the completion of primary education. He concludes, "brief attendance at primary school is not of great importance in inducing migration" in the state of Punjab.[11] Wyon and Gorden found that the completion of the third grade (well before the end of the primary school) was a critical stage associated with increased rates of migration. Despite the educational selectivity found in migration patterns, most migrants are illiterate who usually aim at the urban modern sectors. Illiterate migrants include most of the intra-rural and seasonal migrants.[12] For instance Hanvey found in Columbia that the migrants with little or no education were more likely to be rural-rural migrants.[13] Sahota confirms this on a wider scale in Brazil. Even within the rural-urban migration flow the use of educational qualification for job selection means that those with poor education are forced into the informal sector.[14] All these suggest that literacy has a limited role in selecting the migrants.

A study in Kerala on migration conducted by Prakash B.A. states that the educational status of the migrant was below Secondary School Leaving Certificate. It was reported that majority did not possess technical skills or qualifications.[15] Nambiar A.C.K points out that a majority of the migrants had low level of education primary and upper primary level.[16] Our data on educational status of the migrant are similar to those of the previous studies. It is generally agreed that the educational

qualification of the majority of the migrants either is below Secondary School Leaving Certificate or Pre University Course. The option of Gulf migration for the less educated and unskilled people was induced because of unemployment, low remuneration and competitive situation. The qualified could manage to get employment at the native place. Besides, the social status hindered them from opting for Gulf migration.

Reasons for Migration

This part of the study examines the way the migration starts, the motivational factors and the purpose behind going to the overseas. The significance of migration can be understood if we go back to the history of Dakshina Kannada. In olden days many people migrated to the neighbouring ghats mainly for economic reasons. Others migrated to Bombay due to the trade connection. In those days people moved to different places only in search of livelihood. During the time of the survey people revealed the stories of their migration expressing their great sufferings and difficulties. Many people first moved to Bombay, and started migrating to Gulf countries only after 1970's. For the people of the region, the emigration to the Gulf countries is not a new phenomenon. During 1920's and 1930's, Indians migrated to the Middle East for trade and skilled job.[17] The early phase of migration involved a lot of illegal and unorganized movement of people in search of livelihood.[18] But during 1970's, the rate of migration to the Gulf countries increased significantly, may be mainly because of the boom in the oil price.

In certain cases, migration is an individual decision mainly for his own good future. If an individual cannot satisfy his wants or if he is not happy about the present condition or if he cannot compete with other people at the place of origin, he will naturally

take a decision to migrate to other places. Studies show that the poor and socio-economically deprived are more likely to migrate than others in search of better living condition.[19] But this thesis has been questioned. The major objection against the above thesis is that the migration to other country is a costly affair since the migrant will have to spend money for visa, travel, medical certificate etc. Only in exceptional cases migrants get free visa or get it at a cheaper rate making it affordable for all to migrate to other countries.[20]

In certain other cases migration is connected with collective decision involving the family members and friends. So the reason for migration is an individual or a collective decision. The characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, education and income play an important role in taking decision to migrate. In addition to this, the social factors such as family's previous experience and family network also are responsible for migration. Thus, in the migration stream both economic and non-economic factors motivate the decision of an individual to migrate. Once again the motivational factors are divided into push and pull factors which operate in the decision to move. In the process of migration the migrant considers the pains and difficulties as secondary factors and economic need as a primary factor. The main push factors are unemployment,under-employment, over-population, subdivision and fragmentation of local holdings. There are some pull factors such as family network, previous experience, high returns and easy availability of jobs. The presence of relatives and friends seems to be an attractive force to decide the choice of destination for majority of the migrants' families. The reason for human migration is not single, but a bunch of reasons work together in making one to migrate. However different reasons can be identified for the promotion of the migrants' decision to migrate. The study

included a direct question to the migrants to state the reason for migration.

The family and its size has been one of the important influencing factors for the migrant to participate in the process of migration. One of the primary factor identified is that number of people migrated from large families are more. The large families could encourage their members to join in the process of migration because these families could manage the responsibility at the native place with the remaining members, whereas it would be impossible in the case of nuclear families. Hence the data collected show that large families joined more in the process of migration. The number of members in the family is considered to be one of the factors compelling one to migrate. Table. 6 presents the number of members in the family of the sample migrants. Out of the 82 families interviewed the number of families consisting of 2 members was 4 (4.9%), 3 members was 7 (8.5%) 4 members was 6 (7.3%) 5 members was 14 (17.0%), 6 members was 12 (14.7%) 7 members was 13 (15.9%), 8 members was 14 (17.0%) 9 members was 12 (14.7%). Hence the data present that the migration tends to come from relatively larger families. So the population pressure is one of the reasons for migration. It is observed in the previous studies that the population pressure is one of the reasons for internal migration.[21]

Our data show that in the smaller families the tendency of migration is lesser than in the larger families. A high rate of migration is observed in the larger families primarily to meet the higher expenditure of the family. The feeling of insecurity among the members of a large family when the property gets divided into small portions is also a reason for migration. In order to balance these shortcomings the members of the larger families opt for migration. Migration being a source for advancing the economic

status, people have selected migration to the Gulf countries. In the extended families there are enough members to look after the family affairs and responsibilities at the native place, whereas the nuclear family does not have that privilege. The social network becomes handy in the extended families. The first migrant from the family becomes the source to the rest of the members of the family, whereas in the nuclear family even if the migrant desires to take another member of the family he has nobody to take because of the small size of the family.

The previous studies also substantiate that migration from the large families is more. Pathare et.al. found that the mean size of a migrant household in a Maharastrian factory was 8, implying that the migrants' households were of a large size than those of the non-migrant families.[22] Our data confirm the fact that migrants to a large extent are from large families. This finding is in conformity with the findings of Upton, Wiest, and Pathare et.al. Migration is a biomodel pattern where the poor migrate for their survival whereas the rich for economic pursuit.[23] The similarity with the previous studies proves the fact that the extended family is responsible for migration. The expenditure, economic necessity and responsibility sharing opportunity of the extended family also contribute to migration.

Every human movement has reasons. The process of migration too from time immemorial has been due to definite reasons. If in the past the human race moved in search of food and shelter due to the environmental reasons, today human race migrates for the same reason but with the difference of individual movement to provide food and shelter to the rest at the definitive place. In this line the reasons for the process of migration can be conceptualized and analyzed from the perspective of push and pull factors. Table. 7 has categorized the reasons like poverty, unemployment, better salary,

good job, which come under the push and pull factors. As the data show, the total sample, 17 members migrated because of poverty, 21 because of unemployment, 26 for better salary, 13 for good jobs and 5 for other reasons. The primary findings of our data are that the majority of the migrants have migrated for the attractive salary that was offered. Unemployment and poverty too are responsible for migration. Studies have shown that migrants strive to enhance their existing economic position and as such are drawn towards regions where opportunities and remunerations appear to be higher.[24] In the case of rural to urban migration, studies have shown that people mostly move out of their villages due to decreased availability of land, unemployment and under employment.[25] The data collected confirm with the findings of previous studies that migration has taken place for better salary and employment.

Table. 8 presents the fact that the family network is an important factor in taking an individual to the Gulf countries. Information technology and mass media have grown rapidly. But benefits and awareness of them among the migrants and also their use for migration is minimum. It has influenced only a small percentage i.e. the educated people. One more reason can be that most of the migrants being unskilled and having lower educational qualification the media would not be influential and effective. Most of the migrants depend on their friends and relatives for right information. The employer might have avoided advertisement inviting applications from the candidates for the required job to avoid the legal procedure or the taxing process. So the best means has been agents, relatives and friends who know the destination well. This aspect is discussed in detail under the social network.

The findings show that 13 members of the total sample migrated through agents, 18 through friends, 42 through relatives and 9 members with the help of newspapers and advertisements. It

is clear from the data that relatives have been instrumental in taking the person to the Gulf countries. Our data show that most of the migrants received help from relatives. The social network has become the promoter, guide and introducer of the migrant to the new country. It has made the migrants' life at the destination easier. This social network usually comprises of relatives and friends. There is no doubt a small portion of the migrants have received help from the agents and advertisements.

The previous studies have references about awareness of the native people regarding the jobs at the destination. Litwak opines that the close ties and size of the extended family has led important role in the process of migration. The migration of one of the members of these families has become a source for left out individuals at the native to provide information about jobs, living conditions, social customs and the language of the destination.[26] MacDonald and MacDonald express the view that the support and encouragement from the relatives is like chain migration. Here the prospective migrants learn of the opportunities at the destination which they pass on to their friends and relatives. Once the friends or relatives come to the destination the initial accommodation and employment arrangement is provided for these prospective migrants due to the social relationship with them.[27]

The studies in India also refer to the social network of relatives and friends in the process of migration. The data shows that friends and relatives still continue to be the most important source of information. In fact, almost four-fifths of the total number of migrants receive information about employment possibilities abroad from this source.[28] The findings of this study confirms with findings of other studies that the majority of the migrants have migrated with the help of social network (relatives

and friends) and a small section of the migrants depended on agents and newspaper advertisements.

Man imitates nature. Every action and movement has been the effect of his imitations from the childhood. The analytical power within him helps an individual as to what to imitate and what not to imitate. He imitates an action that helps or that makes him feel that it is good to incorporate it in his behavior. The imitation is of physical, mental and social behavior. The social behavior in the society has a powerful influence on the individual. The motivation of every individual starts with imitation of individuals who are better than him or her. The motivation of migration to the Gulf countries is the imitation of the life style, luxuries, wealth and social respect attached to it. In this regard the immigrant becomes an imitating entity, primarily because of the affluence of the migrant. The people at the native place have observed and have made an analytical evaluation that migration could be the only door to richness whether one is skilled or unskilled, educated or uneducated. The image as it is rightly called by Sekher T.V. the 'Dubai Syndrome' has forced the youth to join the process of migration. The emigrants' return during their holidays may be once in a year or two. His coming back to the village becomes a news known to all. People related or indirectly connected to the migrant anxiously wait for the day to see his majestic arrival to the village. The emigrant too responds equally to the images that have been created about him in his dress, arrival by car and with other paraphernalia. This image triggers the spirit of the youths of native place to join the process of Gulf migration.

Procedure and Mode of Migration

Before discussing how does one migrate, a brief note on the procedure of migration is needed. In the following paragraphs, the details on emigration laws, migration procedures and other related issues are discussed. According to the Indian Emigration Act, 1922, the unskilled workers are not allowed to emigrate. But the trend of emigration to the Gulf countries totally changed after 1970's mainly because of the rise in oil price in the international market. Another reason is, development projects taken up by the Gulf countries. Because of these reasons there has been a great demand for unskilled and skilled laborers. Most of the people of the district rushed to the Gulf countries illegally. Consequently, the provision of 1922 Emigration Act was relaxed in 1976. The relaxation of the act has led to the mushrooming of both licensed and unlicensed agents. In 1979, the Supreme Court gave its direction to the Government of India regarding migration. According to the guidelines given by the Supreme Court, rules and regulations are framed and terms and conditions are fixed for migration in order to protect the interests of the migrants. The number of passport offices was increased with a view to scrutinize the application forms and to get the emigration clearance. But in actual practice, the procedure is not followed strictly. It is because of the mismatch between demand for and supply of labor. The supply of labor far exceeds the demand for it. The agents and sub-agents have exploited this condition of over supply of labor. They as middlemen began to make money for the visa and other related things. The migrants have to pay a lot of money for the visa and other documents. Even after paying a huge amount to the agents it is not sure that one would get the visa. There are a number of cases

where a number of aspirants have failed to get right jobs at the destination.

According to the rules and regulations of the Gulf countries, the employer has to bear the expenses of recruitment and travel. But, as the supply of labor is in excess of demand, the employers have an upper hand. There are cases where the migrants are exploited by the employers without paying wages properly and making them to work beyond the stipulated period. In order to protect the interests of the migrants, the emigration act has once again been amended in September 1983. The main aim of the act has been to avoid illegal migration and to protect the exploitation of migrants by the licensed as well as unlicensed agents. The Government of United Arab Emirates has stopped accepting applications for visas of unskilled workers from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh with effect from 18th July 1999.

The process of migration starts when an individual starts searching for a job. Lack of opportunity at the native forces him to move to another place. When he thinks of moving from the native place to another place he depends on certain sources like friends, relatives, agents and advertisements for information about the place to which he wishes to go. Once the migrant comes to know about the employment possibility he will try for recruitment. If the migrants friends or relatives are already working in the Gulf countries, then this type of social network works out very easily. The social network helps to provide information and financial support at the place of origin. It also helps at the destination by providing initial accommodation and also helps to avoid loneliness and to adjust to the new customs and the new language. Social network has helped in general to generate self confidence and courage by giving information on the terms and conditions of

employment, climatic conditions, social and cultural characteristics of the countries to which the migrants have to migrate.

On the other hand, if the migrants get information through commission agent or through advertisements, they will have to spend more money for the migration. During the time of recruitment the migrant should have legal documents such as passport, visa, employment contract, emigration clearance certificate and medical fitness certificate. In fact, there are no charges for visa and other documents. If an employer opts to recruit through a recruitment agent, the employer has to bear all the expense for services rendered. But in reality the process is not free, every thing has a fee. It is mainly because of the stiff competition among the laborers and the limited number of jobs available at the destination. The recruitment agencies like brokers have exploited the migrants to the maximum in spite of the rules and regulations framed by the government. In order to attract the employers, there is a tendency among the recruitment agencies to offer certain incentives to them. In turn, the recruitment agencies charge the concerned migrant for the visa, travel, recruitment charges, legal expenses, expenses incurred for advertisements, communication and incentive payments. The total amount varies according to the type of job, remuneration, terms and conditions of the job offered. The agents will help not only in offering jobs but also in securing documents. In certain cases, if it is required by the migrants, agents help in booking the travel tickets also. But the recruitment agents make a handful of profit by recruiting people. After finishing all those requirements, the migrant will reach the port of entry at the destination. The employer or his agent will meet him and take him to the workplace.

Since the Gulf emigration is purely of a temporary nature, the migrant will work for a few years and will come back to the country

of origin or has the option of renewing his contract of employment. Thus each cycle of migration starts from the stage at which the person starts searching for a job or visa and ends with his return after the expiry of the work permit. The majority of the migrants migrate mainly because of the family network and previous experience. The previous experience will give them confidence to leave their home and family members. The relatives or family network help them a lot to obtain information about the destination. Even the family members directly encourage other people in the family to migrate.

Another way of getting appointment in the Gulf countries is by going with visiting visas to those countries. Sometimes, the person who travels to the foreign countries under the visiting visa will not return even after the expiry of the visiting period. But stay on hiding in the house of relatives or friends. In the meantime, because of the contact with the relatives, he will be trying to get appointment at the destination and somehow manage to get employment. Sometimes it is easy to get employment because some of the employers find it more economical to make such a illegal recruitment. Another advantage of such type of recruitment is that there is a possibility of getting the right type of candidate. At times, the illegal migrants must be prepared to undergo imprisonment also. In the whole process, the migrant must get emigration clearance certificate which is also called the no objection certificate. A number of people do not require Emigration Clearance Certificate. Their list is given in the Appendix-1.

Social Network and Migration

The nuclear family is a product of the recent times. Basically, Indian families are the joint family system where all individuals emotionally and physically lived together from the

eldest to the youngest. The members of the family work, eat and live together. Separation of a single member of the family had been an unthinkable and unacceptable reality for them. Therefore, the families have not allowed any member of their family to work outside their purview. Only a few members have transgressed this social restriction and have gone out of family's boundaries to work outside. These people have come back with a lot of wealth to their families and they shared their experiences and said about the opportunities available at the destination. The families at the native place believed them and agreed to send their family members along with them. The trust factor of the family members with the emigrant relative is one of the important factors at the initial stage of Gulf migration which has prompted the individuals to join the process of migration. After 1970s migrating to the Gulf countries has become a common phenomenon to the natives due to the increase of emigrants. Thus the phobia of faraway countries has started to decline in the minds of the native people.

Social network means relationship of an individual with other individuals, relatives, friends and neighbours. Generally, when one among these goes far away for job opportunities, he will not forget his people at the origin. If a job opportunity is found at the destination, the migrant takes the initiative to provide that opportunity to the person known to him at the origin. Thus a social network is established. Landies has observed that the presence of relatives and friends seems to be an attractive force to decide the choice of destination for a good majority of the migrant families.[30] The individual at the destination has always tried to bring his relatives and friends from the native place to the destination. This has also helped the migrant at the destination to reduce the feelings of alienation in the foreign countries. The migrants have become

alien to the total system of the destination. The migrants tried to overcome this alienation to a certain extent by bringing their own people if the opportunities are available.

The people at the origin have always looked forward to the migrant's help in getting them to the destination. The migrants have become the torch bearer in providing job opportunities at the destination. Their words and promises become authentic information to the persons at the origin owing to the migrants' experience at the destination. It is the migrant who knows the destination, job opportunities, culture, language and qualification required for the job. Thus migrant becomes a model figure for an individual who aspires to migrate to the Gulf countries. The help provided by the migrant to his kith and kin or to his family to a large extent is genuine and true. The migrant has become a model to build courage among the aspirants who wish to join the process of migration. The migrant also becomes a solace and a friend in need at the destination, as the new place is totally strange to him. It is he who introduces the new place and shows the different avenues of opportunities. So the migrant becomes a guide to an individual at the origin. Hence an effective social network is woven.

The study has shown that the person who migrated has received help from his friends, relatives, agents and advertisements. In this case, the social network has played an important role in the process of migration. There are cases where people have gone on visiting visa to the Gulf countries and stayed back illegally and worked for a period of time. The previous studies point out the previous migrant's experience in reaching the Gulf countries in detail. The earlier mobility experience has also worked out in the

migration process of an individual.[30] The agents helped the migrants who have been recruited through them in getting the documents required for migration. There are cases of emigrants recruited by the unauthorised and unlicensed agents.[31] Litwak says, that the migrants have been supported and informed by the relatives and friends.[32] Studies have shown that the relatives helped the migrant both morally and monetarily.[33] This study points out that the different agencies like relatives friends and recruiting agents have come to the help of an individual to take him to the Gulf countries. The findings of this study largely, like the findings of the previous studies, agree with the role of social network and recruiting agency in the process of migration.

Today the migration process is not like what it used to be in the past. A lot of expenditure and legal procedures are involved in the process. The internal migration may not be costly. But the international migration is very expensive. The modern world being a fast moving world, every individual thinks of adapting himself to the fast changing pace of the world. Hence in the international migration the migrant expects the proceedings of the migration to be done faster. For this he uses faster means of communication and travel which will cost heavily. Thus international migration became an expensive matter to the migrants. Migrants have to spend for passport, medical check up, no objection certificate, travel, tickets, visa and the commission to the agent. A migrant spends around Rs. 20,000/- to Rs. 50,000/- for the purpose of migration. The migrants who migrate through recruiting agents have to spend more money. On the basis of the information from the respondents the finance for migration is pooled from different sources.

In the table. 9 it is seen that 6 migrants have gone free of cost, 21 of them have migrated with their savings, 24 of them have migrated through the help of their relatives, 7 of them have migrated by raising an interest free loan, 9 of them by getting a loan with interest, 12 of them by selling their gold and 3 of them by selling their land. From the data collected two major sources can be identified – one, self-finance and two, finance from outside. The first category consists of one's own savings, selling gold and land. Majority of the migrants have raised the finance from this source. This is indicative of the fact that migration is not only the sole interest of the migrant but also of the family. Hardly a few migrants have received financial help from outside like interest free loan and loan with interest. It implies that there is not much encouragement from the banking sector. Several studies have indicated that the cost involved in migration is reduced by the moral and monetary support provided by the relatives at the destination point.[34] The cost of emigration studied by other Indian scholars indicate that nearly 27% used their savings ; more than half of them received money from relatives, about 60% took loans ; more than 40% sold jewellery and ornaments and only a small minority sold land for raising funds to meet the cost of going abroad.[35] The data presents the dissimilarities with the previous studies regarding the means of migration like migrating free of cost or on interest free loans. Similarities are found in terms of the help from the relatives, investing their own savings, selling gold and land and also raising loan with interest from others and banks. These are some of the common features found in our study which are similar to the findings of earlier studies.

Migration appears to be a simple reality. But it involves a complex process. A detailed study reveals the reality of the intricacies interwoven in the process. Age is the primary aspect which throws light on the migrants' enthusiasm and decision to migrate in a certain phase of his life. Sex, religion, education and occupation provide the background and the social structure of the migrants place. There are ample reasons for migration such as the large size of the family, unemployment, poverty and better salary. Though these are some of the common reasons for migration, they are not that common as they appear in the individual cases. The process of migration need encouragement from the relatives and friends. Cost of the whole process and the legal procedures involved are cumbersome. The social network in good many cases becomes a solace to the migrants. The social network has been a life giving support to most of the migrants. The encouragement and support given by the relatives and friends at the destination is acknowledged with gratitude by the migrants. They have made the destination a homely place to the migrant. In the next chapter we are going to see the socio-economic conditions of the migrants at the destination.

Table 1 : Religion of the Migrants

Religion		Frequency	Percentage
	Hindu	16	20.0
	Muslim	42	51.0
	Christian	24	29.0
	Total	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table 2 : Age and Sex of the Migrants

Age group			SEX		
			Male	Female	Total
AGE	<30	Count	21	.00	21
		%	100.0%	.00	100.0%
	30 – 40	Count	28	5	33
		%	85.0%	15.0%	100.0%
	40 – 50	Count	25	3	28
		%	89.0%	11.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	74	8	82
		%	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%

Source : Data from field survey

Table – 3 Female Migrants

Religion	Members
Muslims	0
Christians	8
Hindus	0
Total	8

Source : Data from field survey.

Table No. 4 : Marital Status of the Migrants

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	64	78.0
Unmarried	18	22.0
Total	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 5 : Educational Status of the Migrants

Educational Status	Frequency	Percentage
Primary	17	21.0
SSLC	22	27.0
PUC	9	11.0
Diploma	18	22.0
Degree	11	13.0
Prof	5	6.0
Total	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table 6:MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY

Number of members	Frequency	Percentage
2	4	4.9
3	7	8.5
4	6	7.3
5	14	17.0
6	12	14.7
7	13	15.9
8	14	17.0
9	12	14.7
Total	82	100

Source : Data from field survey

Table No. 7: Reasons for Migration

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Poverty	17	21.0
Unemployment	21	25.0
Better salary	26	32.0
Good job	13	16.0
Other	5	6.0
Total	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 8 : Awareness about the Job at the Destination

Source	Frequency	Percentage
Through agent	13	16.0
Friends	18	22.0
Relatives	42	51.0
News paper	9	11.0
Total	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table No. 9 : Cost of Migration

Arrangement factors	Frequency	Percentage
Free	6	7.0
Own savings	21	25.5
Relatives	24	28.5
Interest free loan	7	9.0
Loan with interest	9	11.0
Sold gold	12	15.0
Sold land	3	4.0
Total	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

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CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRANTS AT THE DESTINATION

CHAPTER – 4

THE MIGRANTS AT THE DESTINATION

This chapter explains the conditions of migrants at the destination. A large number of studies on migration concentrate on migrants' status and also on the impact of migration on the society and economy at the native place. There are limited studies which help us to understand the status or living and employment conditions of migrants at the destination. Lack of understanding of the conditions of migrants at the destination is a serious lacuna in the body of knowledge accumulated on migration. Due to this lacuna the state has not perceived the severity of the problems suffered by the migrants at the destination and also not attempted seriously to make arrangements to safeguard the interest of Gulf migrants at the destination. This chapter, in fact, fills that gap. In this chapter, an attempt is made to deal with the various issues related to employment and living conditions at the destination. They are - support received at the destination, job promised and job got, frequency of change of job, nature of job, salary paid, overtime salary, holidays, facilities offered by the employer, job satisfaction, saving and sending the earnings, Gulf citizenship, taking family to the Gulf, mode of communication, sending children to Gulf countries, relation between Indian Embassy and Migrants, and association life at the destination.

The Gulf countries have begun to give importance to developmental works since 1970's. Prior to 1970s the oil price was not that lucrative. Besides the Gulf countries were under British regime. Around early seventies there were some unexpected developments in the international affairs that gave a big boost in pushing the Gulf countries forward. The most debated and well

known two developments which brought about spurt in the development activities were unexpected hike in the oil prices and independence from the British rule. These factors have made the Gulf to take up the developmental work vigorously. However, there can not be any development in any country unless and until there is human intervention. Moreover, to take up the developmental work there should be a well trained and skilled labor force. But these two things were missing in the Gulf countries.

On the one hand majority of the Gulf citizens were illiterate and on the other hand the women could not participate in the work force. The small literate segment of the society was not eager to take up manual work, nor to be employed in the private sector. Their primary intention was to be employed in the government sector because it would provide them security, enough income and social status. This in turn developed a contemptuous attitude towards manual labor. Hence the government had no option but to invite laborers from other countries. Another reason of the demand for laborers is the fragmentation of joint families into nuclear families in the Gulf society. This created job opportunities in the fragmented families to look after their kids and to do other house hold work.[1]

The developmental works in the Gulf countries have increased the job opportunities. To take this opportunity people from the South Asian Nations started to migrate to the Gulf countries. When compared to the salaries offered in many South Asian Countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the salary offered in the Gulf countries was far higher. Better salary attracted the unskilled people and they began to migrate to the Gulf countries. In the early phase infrastructure strengthening and other construction works were predominating developmental activities. So Gulf countries demand for labor, in the early phase of its development, confined to

unskilled and less educated. In other words the development projects of Gulf countries did not invite highly qualified and professionals. Infact, there is another explanation for this syndrome of getting laborers for unskilled works from third world countries. It is mainly due to the fact that the highly qualified higher posts such as doctor, engineer and other big posts were captured by the western labor force. So the left out thing that was unskilled labor activities were filled with laborers from the third world countries. Being the followers of Islamic faith, the Gulf countries have been very strict in applying their religious code of conducts. In fact they have forced migrants to follow the rules and regulations that are applicable to the citizens of the Gulf nations. These code of conducts and other norms and practices of the Gulf countries are not going well with the values and practices from which the migrants come. But they have no option but to bear with these rules and regulations of the land in order to earn some additional income. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to examine the terms and conditions of migrants employment and also to see how the migrants adapted themselves to the conditions of the Gulf.

Support at the Destination

The whole process of migrants life in the destination begins with the help of either friends or relatives or agents. In most of the cases migrants received help from their relatives and friends, who have been responsible in taking them to the Gulf countries. It is interesting to note that every migrant has been helped by one or the other person. It is seldom a migrant has answered that he/she had nobody to help at the destination. The cry for help is natural. On the one hand the Gulf countries are strange in every respect and on the other hand most of the migrants are less educated. So most of the migrants cried for help before they began the migration

process. The preparation and guidelines they had with them when they began their journey helped them to find somebody to guide at the destination. The fact that all have received one or the other form of help at the destination, has been acknowledged by all migrants.

Migrant is a stranger to destination's environment. A number of aspects of destination such as language, people, culture, places, procedures, rules and regulations are alien to the migrants. The timely introduction of the migrant to the new environment helps him to be familiar with the new situation. This introduction can be done only by those who are already there. In the questionnaire the migrants have been asked whether somebody had helped the migrant at the destination. Most of them answered that the relatives who were already at the destination had helped them. The figures of the study say that the presence of the kith and kin has played an important role in the adaptation and adjustment of migrants to an unfamiliar world.[2] Figures in the table. 10 gives a general idea of persons who helped the migrants to reach the destination and also tells about the aid the migrant received from different persons like the employer, relatives, friends and agents. Out of the total sample of 82 migrants, 18 received help at the destination from agents or employers, 43 of them from relatives or parents and 21 of them from friends. It is interesting to note that in the comparative analysis it is the relatives who have contributed significantly to the process of migration than the employers or the agents.

Present Occupation

The data pertaining to educational status gives an idea of migrants qualification and the type of jobs they got at the destination. The positions migrants occupied in the destination are categorized into five groups. They are unskilled, skilled, self

employed, officials and professionals. The unskilled category includes housemaids, gardeners, watchmen, farm laborers, construction workers, cleaners and other related workers. In the skilled category the following workers are included – carpenters, masons, equipment operators, welders, painters, drivers, electricians, plumbers, mechanics, tailors, cooks and waiters. Self employed category comprises petty shop owners, dry cleaning, other petty shop owners. The officials include clerks, typists, salesmen, secretaries, cashiers, office attendants, nurses and lab technicians. Doctors, engineers, accountants, administrative executives and personnel working in managerial cadre are included under the category of professionals.

The Gulf countries have absorbed a large portion of the unskilled laborers and to some extent skilled laborers but very small number of officials and professionals. This unequal distribution may be an indicator pointing at the early phase of development of the Gulf. It is natural for any country especially when it is in the early stage of development to absorb unskilled laborers in large portion for developmental works. Figures relating to the occupations of the migrants at the destination also support the above hypothesis. Of the total sample, 28 migrants got unskilled jobs, 34 skilled ones, 4 persons were self employed, 11 of them were appointed officers and 5 of them were working as professionals (table. 11). It is clear form the data that most of the migrants are employed as unskilled and skilled laborers. The reasons for labeling an individual as unskilled laborer is based on their low education. Moreover, most of the migrants being unskilled and semi-skilled at the native place they received similar jobs in the Gulf countries with the only difference in remuneration. Since Gulf countries became independent in recent times, they concentrated more on establishing infrastructure facilities.

Therefore, they invited only those people who could fulfill the needs of setting up the infrastructure. Hence they absorbed more unskilled laborers than professionals. It is natural that when the infrastructure establishments complete the labor requirement of that country would change. The demand for labor may shift from unskilled laborer to semi-skilled to skilled ones.

Annual Income

The annual income of the migrants is another indicator depicting the quality of job held by him. Most of the educated migrants have got better jobs and a comfortable annual income. From the mere annual income it may not be feasible to conclude that higher the income better the position. The migrants have also forced themselves to work overtime. Since most of the migrants were unskilled and less educated, they had to work overtime to earn a better annual income. Of the (Table. 12) total sample of 82 migrants, 18 received an annual income between seventy five thousand and one lakh, 10 of them received one lakh to one and a half lakhs, 14 of them received one and a half lakhs to two lakhs, 12 of them received two lakhs to two and a half lakhs, 8 of them received two and a half lakhs to three lakhs, between three lakhs and five lakhs annual income has been received by 9 migrants, 6 of them received three and half lakhs to four lakhs, 5 of them receive four lakhs and above. Here an important point to be noted is that most of the migrants were reluctant to give the actual annual income to the researcher. However, they have given an approximate figure. It is also clear from the data that educational qualification has an impact on the occupation they take up. This in turn, has a direct relation to their annual income. The higher the educational background, the better the occupation and higher the income.

Promise and Offer

In theory the labor importing country bears all the expenses of labor recruitment. But due to surplus laobr and consequent pressure on the recruiting agencies a number of illegal practices of recruiting labor are found. Practices like asking the laborer to pay for the visa, not passing on the travel benefits to the workers, using duplicate passports and so on are very common. These improper and illegal ways of recruitment and entry into the Gulf has given rise to the exploitation of migrants.[3] A sample survey conducted among returned migrants in Kerala during 1980's revealed that about 75 percent of them had gone to the Middle East without formal contracts or having any knowledge about the terms and conditions of the works.[4] The survey shows that a large number of migrants are cheated by the recruiting agents by not giving the promised jobs. Once the migrant reaches the destination, he is left with the only option of accepting any kind of job offered to him.

Migrants accept any job given by them primarily for two reasons. One, coming back from the Gulf without any earnings may lead to loss of prestige and status at the place of his origin. Secondly, normally the migrants go to Gulf taking loans from differen sources. He has to pay back the loans that he has raised for his migration. Data on the job promiced and job got are presented in table.13. Of the total sample, 49 have got the promised job whereas 33 of them expressed that they have been cheated. The significant thing to be noted is that 49 migrants who have not been cheated have gone there either through their relatives or through the friends. In other words those who have used the traditional social network have not been cheated. Those who were cheated belong to basically two groups. One, almost all of them were less educated and second, they were the first generation migrants. First generation migrants means those migrants who were

the first one from their family to migrate to the Gulf countries. They did not have friends or relatives to fall back on when they landed in the alien land.

In table.14 data relating to number of migrants who had been victims of one another type of fraud are given. Of the total 82 sample migrants, 19 migrants have been deceived and 63 of them responded that they have not been deceived by anybody. Getting cheated in the process of migration has been a common fact to the person who is a stranger to the Gulf countries and to the process of migration. The people who have been cheated had no friends or relatives at the destination. They have been totally ignorant of the legal procedures, employment system, appointment procedures and journey to the destination. The recruiting agents take advantage of migrant's ignorance about these things. Even after paying a huge amount for visa or employment, there are cases where the migrants have been cheated and could not reach the destination. They have lost the money they had paid to the agents. In spite of the Emigration Act and other rules and regulations relating recruitment there are good many cases of cheating. These rules and regulations have not come to the rescue of migrants. Those people who have been cheated had to wander in the unknown places without proper job and also place to put off. Many of them had to sleep on the streets and ask for information about the employment promiced with every pedestrian until they met the person who could understand his language. Some of them had to settle for whatever given irrespective of the earlier promice and struggle for daily bread. There are cases where migrants who left for Gulf countries could not go there due to some fraud had to settle in India working in hotels and other works which they never whished for.

Frequency of Change of Job

It is clear from the above discussion that in the process of migration many of the migrants have been cheated by the agents by not providing the promiced job at the destination. Often migrants accepted any job that was provided at the destination when they failed to get the promised job. The reasons why they accept whatever comes their way is already explained. All these circumstances force a migrant to work with a deep sense of dissatisfaction. Besides, he also thinks in terms of changing the job at the shortest notice. In other words he keeps on trying for a better job at the destination. Thus in Gulf it became a common practice that migrants keep on moving from one job to another. In most of the cases the main critria for leaving a old and opting for a new job is the promice of a salary. One more reason to change the job at the destination was one's attraction towards better position. In this way many of the workers abroad frequently changed their occupations in search of high wages and better working conditions.[5] The influence of friends and relatives and desire to stay together has also made the migrant to find a job nearer to their kith and kin.

Of the total sample, 7 never changed their jobs, 18 changed their job once, 26 two times, 13 changed their jobs three times, 12 four times, and 6 of them changed their jobs five times (Table. 15). This change speaks about migrants' dissatisfaction with the present job and being on a look out for a better job and better salary. Thus changing the job among the migrants at the destination is a common thing. The migrants always looked for better employment i.e., a job that pays them well. So the sample suggests that most of the migrants have changed their jobs once they reached the Gulf. This shows the condition of the migrants regarding their jobs. But the

migrants always change the job for a better position than the present. Data show that 91% of the migrants have changed their jobs, whereas only 9% have not changed their jobs at all.

Nature of Job & Salary

The migrants are classified into regular, long term employees, casual workers and self employed. Since the migration to the Middle East is on a contract basis the nature of the job is temporary. Data on the nature of job are presented in table. 16. Of the total sample, 63 were on temporary jobs, 15 of them permanently appointed and 4 of them self employed. It is surprising to note that only 18% of the migrants expressed the hope that their job would be made permanent due to their long service at the destination. But 77% of the emigrants come under the temporary category and are convinced that their employment would remain temporary. The nature of job at the destination in unorganized sector is of temporary nature. Even in India same condition prevails. In the organized sector at the destination and also in India, the job is guaranteed to a certain period of time and rules and regulations are formed to protect the employees interest.

In the unorganized sector also there are rules and regulations to safeguard the interest of the employee. But the implemention of those rules depends on the employer. The employer at the destination could withdraw employment or remove the employee at any time. The same condition prevails in the unorganized sector in India also. Infact the recruitment procedure requires the employer in Gulf countries to intimate the government when a person is recruited and they do so. As for the termination of job is concerned,

in unorganized sector the employee has no control as in the organized sector.

The salary, both in the organized and unorganized sectors, is paid according to the contract that the employer has entered into at the time of recruitment. There is no difference in these terms either in the Gulf or in India. But the remuneration which is paid at the destination seems to be higher in terms of Indian currency. In table 17 figures relating to period at which salary received by the migrants are given. Of the total sample, 29 have been paid weekly and 53 of them have been paid once in a month. Majority of the migrants are paid monthly. There are some workers who are paid daily wages or piece wages also. In the unorganized sector the payment of salary is not prompt and regular. It is found that 76% of the workers are employed with a monthly salary or wage. Another 24% of the workers are regular employees but are paid wages on a daily basis or on piece wage system at the week end.

Most of the migrants preferred to work hard and voluntier to do overtime work. Since every migrants' primary intention is to earn maximum possible income, they are ready to sacrifice anything for the same. The over time work also helped the migrant to keep away from loneliness and forget his home sickness. But it is not migrants choice. Migrant workers, in addition to much lower pay, tend to receive no social security benefits. They are required to work overtime compulsorily. It is mainly due to the slandered practice for overseas workers. In the work contract itself the migrant worker is bound to work overtime. Most contracts specify a working day of 12 hours which includes 4 hours overtime.[6] All these things, no doubt, put the migrant under pressure. In spite of all these, the migrant may prefer to work and get some additional income so that he can come out of that pressure at the earliest.

However figures in table. 18 tell a different story. Of the migrants 36 agreed that they work overtime but only 27 of them are paid for the overtime and the rest (9) are not paid for overtime work. The 9 migrants worked overtime to complete their assigned piece of work. In other words, overtime salary was not paid because they had been asked to complete the task assigned to them, which was not completed within the given time. Therefore, they have had to work till it was completed. Hence the extra time they had spent was not considered for payment. It is found that the average working day includes 8 to 12 hours work. According to the figures, all the 36 members get over time salary. It shows that the migrants are hard working and thus trying to earn maximum income possible.

Holidays and Leisure

There are three types of holidays – weekly holiday, annual holiday and other holidays such as holidays on the occasion of festivals or national celebrations. Figures relating nature of weekly and annual holidays are presented. All the migrants get weekly holiday on Friday (Table. 19). Of the total sample, 31 of the migrants have 7 days, 26 of the migants 15 days and 7 migrants have 30 days annual holidays (Table. 20). The migrants are given the facility to enjoy the annual holidays irrespective of any category of jobs. The annual holidays differ from job to job. Most of the migrants utilize this facility by travelling to their home town. Some of the migrants make use of the holiday for doing additional work, instead of enjoying their annual holidays, to earn maximum possible income. Annual holidays are given according to the job that a person works. The remuneration during the holidays is given in the organized sector. In the unorganised sector workers do not get salary during their holidays. The payment is made only

for those days when work is done. Since remuneration is high and the primary motive is to advance the economic status the migrants work even during the holidays.

Entertainment of some sort offers relief to the migrants from tensions of the job, home sickness, worries and loneliness. Infact it has replaced the migrants family, friends, near and dear ones. The migrant finds relief from his busy schedule in the leisure time. Data pertaining to how the migrant spends his leisure time are presented in table. 21. Of total 82 sample migrants, 28% of the migrants say that they spend their liesure time in going out with their friends, neighbours or visiting new places. There is a portion of migrant who have accepted that migration has changed their personal activities. They utilize their weekly off to perform their personal and household work. They also watch movies and invite friends to their residence for tea. Around 24% of the respondents agree that they make use of the leisure time in order to earn some more money. They feel that this kind of activity keeps them away from loneliness. A portion of the sample, that is, 7% have not said anything about how they spend their leisure. Apart from these activities the migrant spend their leisure time listening to radio, reading newspaper, watching television or movies, drinking, smoking, participating in clubs and associations, religious and cultural activities and playing games and sports.

Facilities Offered by the Employer

In India an employee in the organized sector is provided with in addition to the monthly salary, facilities such as accommodation, transport, canteen, school to the children and medical facility. In this section an attempt is made to ascertain whether these facilities are given to a migrant apart from the salary. In the Gulf majority of

the workers are provided with accommodation at the work camps[7]. Work camps means houses constructed to provide accommodation for workers. Usually these work camps are situated out of the city and are maintained by the employers. These work camps contain rooms. Average number of persons living in a room varies from 4 to 12 persons. The work camps are provided with water, electricity and other basic facilities. Most of the work camps are provided with air conditioning facilities. There are houses which are not provided with air conditioning facilities also.

Table. 22 shows the facilities offered by the employers. Out of the total sample, 37 (45%) people have been given free accommodation. The migrants belonging to the professional class and those working for the public sector have been provided with free accommodation. But this category also includes some worker who do not belong to professional class. They get free accommodation not as as privilege but as a compulsion attached to their work. This category includes workers belonging to lower categories like, housemaids, ayahs, cleaners, gardeners, and watchmen. Another 14 (17%) migrants got accommodation facility but they have to make partial payment for it. In other words these migrants were given partially free accommodation. These workers were paid an accommodation allowance along with the salary. So they were expected to arrange their own accommodation themselves. The remaining 31 (38%) bore the expenses of boarding out of their pocket. These migrants had to pay the rent fully. These migrants stay in flats or in rental rooms in cities and pay rent out of their own earnings.

Regarding the transportation to the work place, out of the total sample, 24 migrants have been provided free transportation to the work place. But majority of the migrants do not have employer

provided transportation facility. They pay out of their pockets, 58 migrants pay for their transportation. For 29% of the respondents the employer made arrangement for transportation because these workers live in work camps which are located away from the cities. The workers are brought daily to the construction sites, factories, production units and other establishments. The remaining 71% of the workers had to make their own arrangements for their transportation. The point to be noted here is that some of the migrants include professionals, housemaids, ayahs, cleaners, and other workers working for public sector undertakings who do not require the transportation facility because they are put up near the work place.

As far as food is concerned the Gulf migrants are a satisfied lot. They get clean and healthy food. Also food is affordable. For example, one of the migrants said that the price of one plate *biriyani* was 3 *riyals* ten years back and now the price is just 4 *riyals*. That means price of food has not increased much. 41% of the sample gets free food at the workplaces like factories, workshop, construction sites etc. This category also includes ayahs, and housemaids; they also get free food at their employer's house. The remaining 59% of the sample are not provided free canteen facility. Here also majority of the migrants were to bear the expenses of food themselves. Of the total sample, 48 migrants had to bear the expenses themselves.

Medical facilities are very expensive and the migrants are not happy about the treatment. One migrant said that if a person is infected with malaria, he is put in a separate place and has to sign records which would be kept in the police station. The migrants have very bad opinion about doctor's knowledge. Only 12 (15%) of the sample get free medical facility and they belong to company

workers and some professional migrants. The remaining 70 (85%) of the sample pay for the medical facility. Hence a small segment of the migrants gets free medical facility and rest need to bear medical expenses out of their pockets.

The question of getting free education to children may not be that important to the migrants because majority of them have not taken their family to the Gulf. Infact all employees cannot take their families to the Gulf. Only those employees who belong to certain grade and who receive certain salary is allowed to take their family to the Gulf. So in our study only a small number of migrants (11) responded to this question on educational facility. Of the total sample, 6 migrants have been given free education and 5 migrants bore the education expenses of their children themselves. The remaining migrants of the sample are not bothered because they have left their family in the native place. The migrants, as said in the earlier para, do not take the family to the destination due to the restrictions and heavy expenses. There are many schools run by Indian people. But the fees charged in those schools are very heavy and only the rich can afford.

During the early years of Gulf migration the employer used to bear all the expenses of the recruitment and the expenses connected with the onward and return journey. But later due to various reasons such as heavy pressure of surplus labor, mushrooming of recruiting agencies and so on the trend changed. The employers and recruiting agents began to exploit the potential migrant to the maximum. They collect all the expenses from the worker and made good profit. It is observed that only 24 (29%) migrants were given travel expenses to the mother land and 58 (71%) migrants have borne the expenses themselves. Thus the facilities provided at the destination are not much different from what is going on in India. Only a few of them

who are in the higher positions are provided with all the facilities. But the facilities at the working place are exceptionally good in comparison to the work place conditions in India.

Job Satisfaction

It is already been said that inspite of Emigration Act and strict rules and regulations framed for recruitment, the employers and the recruiting agents exploit workers in several ways. The employers exploit the workers by irregular payment of wages. Most of the workers face problems regarding accommodation and working condition at the destination. Because of the high temperature the manual laborers feel it difficult to work without air conditioners. The migrants working in higher position are provided with good facilities. Figures in the table. 23 give some idea on the job satisfaction. In the sample, 71% expressed satisfaction about their job, and the remaining 29% expressed unhappiness about their job. Majority of the migrants are happy with the remuneration they received. Because of that salary they could make huge savings. It is possible only by being at the destination. It is not possible with the educational qualification they have if they remained at their native. Most of the time the emigrants do not pay much importance to the luxuries and the leisure because the sole ambition of migrants has been to improve the economic status as early as possible and join their family.

Inspite of the attraction of good salary a number of migrants return home. The proportion of involuntary return from the Gulf is on the rise. Indeed coming back to the native place is inevitable due to the nature of the Gulf migration. Yet the rise in return gives room to several questions. The migrants were asked the reasons for return. The answers are varied. From the sample, it is clear that

there could be many reasons like, the conditions at the work place, nature of employers, salary and so on. Some of the reasons are inevitable like the expiry date of the visa, the completion of the tenure of the job or unexpected political instability induced by war. So some of them completed their contract and had no option but to come back. A few of them felt that it was enough and decided to return and some fell ill and retuned.

Apart from the above problems there are other reasons for the return. They are the ill treatment by the employer and low salary. There are a few cases where the government of the Gulf country has taken steps to cancel and deport the migrant to the native place for indulging in malpractices like theft, smuggling and sexual abuses. Return due to the loss of health and family compulsions are also the reasons in a few cases. The long service and fulfillment of objectives of the migration and the emotional attachment to the native place have made the migrant to take a decision to call off his service at the destination and start a new venture at the native place. Hence the evaluation of reasons of a cross section of migrants to return gives some idea about the working conditions at the destination. In the recent years both terms and conditions of employment and also working conditions became tougher. The impact of these developments could be seen in the rise of number of migrants return.

Savings and Money Transfers

Most of the migrants are not interested in keeping the money in banks in the Gulf. Because it earns them less or no interest. Therefore, money is either kept in banks in India or sent to the family. Table no. 24 contains data on how the migrants save their money. Out of the total sample of 82 migrants, 6 keep their money

with the employer, 2 of them deposited in banks in the Gulf, 42 deposited their earnings in banks in India, 8 of them saved their earnings by giving loans to others in the Gulf and 24 of them sent their earnings to their family at the native. The temporary nature of the job compels the migrant to make maximum savings in the given period in the Gulf country. In the total sample, 57% of the migrants deposit their money in India mainly because of the attractive interest offered by Indian banks to the Non Resident Indian (NRI) account holders and also for the good service rendered by the banks.

From the study, it is learnt that 30% of the migrants send their income to their family members, whereas 6% of the emigrants keep earnings with their employers. Table no. 25 presents the data on the mode of sending money to the motherland. Out of the total sample, 48 sent it through the banks, 22 through friends and 12 by other means. It is interesting to note that almost all the migrants said that none of them send their earnings through hawala. Majority of the migrants send money through banks because it is the safest way to reach it to the family members. Some of the respondents said that they have kept their money in the banks at the destination but they do not get any interest for being the customer of their banks. Handloan facility is another form of savings. Migrants give handloans to their friends. There is is one more method of saving money – it is called the "kuri fund". Here, the money is pooled in a common fund by friends or persons who are known to each other. Once in a week or once in a month a bidding will be arranged. The members of the kuri system join together and participate in the bidding. The highest bidder gets the fund. These are some of the arrangements invented by the migrants to save their hard earned money.

Taking Family, Associations etc.,

The earlier studies show that most of the migrants have not taken their families to the destination. The reason may be that there is a law saying that the low paid migrants are not allowed to take their families to the destination. A second reason may be social restrictions on the mobility of women like women having less freedom. In Saudi Arabia women are asked to wear the *Purdha*, irrespective of their religious background, when they go out of the house. During the fasting time of the Muslims, even the non-Muslims are asked to observe the fast. Table. 26 presents data on the numbe of migrants who are interested to take their family to the Gulf. Of the total 82 migrants, 63 migrants are not interested in taking the family and 19 of them are interested in taking the family to the Gulf countries. In addition to the socio-religious reasons for not taking the family there is also an economic reason. Gulf countries and India differ in the standards of living. When the migrants take their family they have to incur extra expenditure (more than what they spend when they are single) on the housing, medical expenses, schooling of children and on many other related things. Therefore, the migrants never preferred to take their family to the Gulf countries because of the fear that this may lead heavy expenditure to them.

The people who enjoyed better position in the Gulf countries, lived with family and enjoyed luxurious facilities are interested even in sending their children to the Gulf countries. The migrants who were working in lower jobs and suffered the weak facilities and bad weather condition were not interested to send their children to the Gulf. Their hard life and and bad experiences in the Gulf countries made them to decide not to send their children to the Gulf countries. The migrants were asked about their views on

sending their kids to the Gulf. Of the (Table. 27) total 82, 57% migrants expressed their interest to send their children. But 43% migrants were not interested to send their children to Gulf countries. The main reason given by the migrants for sending their children is economic. One of the migrants said "if my son gets a good job, I am prepared to send my son to the Gulf countries." More or less equal number said (43%) no to sending their children. It is mainly because of the sufferings they had undergone in the Gulf countries. One migrant confessed that "it is enough that I have suffered in the Gulf country, sacrificing my family life. I think my children should not suffer like me."

Though the facilities and the standard of living are high and a high remuneration is paid, there is always discrimination between the migrant and the native. Even the social system is very rigid and hard. For the Indian citizen, it is difficult to be homely with the rules and regulations of the Arab countries. This is the reason why most of the migrants said that they are not interested to be the permanent citizens of those countries. Moreover, these nations have a strict rule restricting the citizenship to the natives only. Besides they apply those rules hard and fast. In this connection, the migrants were asked whether they were interested to be Gulf citizens or not ? Majority of the migrants answered in the nagative. Table no. 28 presents the data on citizenship. Of the total sample of 82 migrants, 14 migrants have expressed their interest to have a permanent citizenship whereas, 68 migrants said they are not interested to be a permanent citizen of the Gulf countries.

The migrants have formed associations according to their region, language, caste and profession . The primary function of an association is to bring the people of same region/language or caste together. The associations in the Gulf countries play a vital role in

recognizing the talents of the migrants. They celebrate their native festivals and other events and occasions. The associations keep the migrants together and also do a lot of charitable work to the members who are needy at the destination and also in the native place. The association has created homely atmosphere to the native people at the place of destination. It has become instrumental in bringing the migrants together.

Table no. 29 shows that out of the total sample, 28 of them joined the association and 54 of them did not. The migrants have their own associations like Konkani Sangha, Kannada Sangha and Tulu Sangha. Majority of the migrants have no contact with these Sanghas. But some of the migrants do visit the association to avoid loneliness and be with the people from his mother land. Majority of the migrants are not a part of any association even though there are many associations. The main reason given by the migrants for not joining any association is that they would like to concentrate on their work and return to the native place as early as possible. If they join any of the associations, it demands their time and resource. But in the Gulf both are very scarce. Because they have gone there with the intention of making some money and returning to the native as early as possible. Therefore majority of the migrants are not part of any association. Around 34% of them said they have absolutely no contact with any association.

Another institution which deals with migrants roots is Indian Embassy. Embassy has many functions. Of them attending the problems of Indain citizens is one. So theoretically speaking when a migrant faces any problem with the employer or with the police or with other authorities in the Gulf, he is entitled to look for some assistance from the Embassy. Table no. 30 tells that 52 migrants received one or another kind of help from the embassy. However

30 migrants said they did not receive any assistance from the Embassy. But it does not mean that all of them approached the Embassy and it declined to help them. On the other hand, most of them did not contact Indian Embassy for assistance. There is another figure (78% of the migrants) which says that Indian Embassy comes to the rescue of the migrants only when they face major problems. In other words it does not encourage migrants to go to it for petty things. In truth, the Indian Embassy does not encourage the migration of unskilled women to the Gulf countries.

The principal objective for which migration is promoted is economic acceleration and creation of employment opportunities. Yet there are many non-economic factors involved in migration. The migrant at the destination comes in contact with new situations and social conditions. It often becomes challenging to the migrant to deal with these factors. The precarious economic conditon at the native compells him to endure all the difficulties that he confronts at the destination. The underlying factors like irregular payment of salary, unsatisfactory job, stringent rules and regulations, overtime, poor working conditions, bad weather, social restrictions on food habits and social gathering and restrictions on taking family to the Gulf become some of the major problmes the migrant has to confront with. The difficulties of the migrants at the destination are most often not known to the people at the native place. But all these hardships are endured because of the remuneration that is received at the destination. A number of people have migrated and continue to migrate, inspite of restrictions in the Gulf countries. As said earlier migration takes place to boost the economic status. The next chapter examines the economic impact of migrantion.

Table no. 10 Help at the Destination

Persons		Frequency	Percentage
	Employer/agent	18	22.0
	Relatives/parents	43	52.0
	Friends	21	26.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table No. 11 : Present Occupation at the Destination

Occupation		Frequency	Percentage
	unskilled	34	41.0
	Skilled	28	34.0
	Self Employed	4	5.0
	Officials	11	13.0
	Prof	5	7.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 12 : Annual Income of the Migrants

Annual Income		Frequency	Percentage
	75000 --100000	18	22.0
	100000 - 150000	10	12.0
	150000 -- 200000	14	17.0
	200000 - 250000	12	15.0
	250000 - 300000	8	10.0
	300000 - 350000	9	11.0
	350000 -400000	6	7.0
	>4000000	5	6.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 13: Promises and Reality

Reasons		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	49	60.0
	No	33	40.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table No. 14: Problems encountered at the Desination

Reasons		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	19	23.0
	No	63	77.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table No. 15 : Frequency of change of job at the Destination

Factors		Frequency	Percentage
	Never changed	7	9.0
	Once	18	22.0
	Twice	26	31.0
	Thrice	13	16.0
	Four times	12	15.0
	Five times	6	7.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no.. 16 : Nature of the job

Nature	Frequency	Percent
Temporary	63	77
Permanent	15	18
Self Employed	4	5
Total	82	100

Source :Data from field survey

Table no. 17 : Salary received at the Destination

Duration		Frequency	Percentage
	Weekly	29	35.0
	Monthly	53	65.0
	Total	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 18 : Overtime Salary at the Destination

Factors		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	27	75.0
	No	9	25.0
	Total	36	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 19 : Weekly Holiday at the Destination

Days		Frequency	Percentage
	Friday	82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 20: Annual Holidays at the Destination

Duration		Frequency	Percentage
	<7 days	31	37.0
	7 – 15 days	26	32.0
	15 –30 days	18	22.0
	>30 days	7	9.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 21: Way of Spending Leisure Time

Reasons		Frequency	Percentage
	Doing homework	31	31.0
	Going out with friends	34	34.0
	Working to earn some extra income	22	22.0
	other	13	13.0
	Total	100	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 22: Facilities offered by the Employer at the Destination

Facilities			MEMBERS			
			Fully free	Partially free	Fully paid	Total
	Accomodation	Count	37	14	31	82
		%	45.0%	17.0%	38.0%	100.0%
	Transportation to work place	Count	24	0	58	82
		%	29.0%	.0%	71.0%	100.0%
	Canteen facility	Count	34	0	48	82
		%	41.0%	.0%	59.0%	100.0%
	Medical facility	Count	12	0	70	82
		%	15.0%	.0%	85.0%	100.0%
	School to children	Count	6	0	5	11
		%	54.0%	.0%	46.0%	100.0%
	Travel to mother land	Count	24	0	58	82
		%	29.0%	.0%	71.0%	100.0%

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 23: Job Satisfaction at the Destination

Satisfaction		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	58	71.0
	No	24	29.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 24: Method of Saving Money

Methods		Frequency	Percentage
	Keeping with the employer	6	7.0
	Keeping in bank in the Gulf	2	2.0
	Keeping in bank in India	42	51.0
	Giving hand loan to other in the Gulf	8	10.0
	Sending to family	24	30.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 25 : Sending Savings to Motherland

Methods		Frequency	Percentage
	Through bank	48	59.0
	Through friends	22	27.0
	Through hawala	0	.0
	Other ways	12	14.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 26 : Taking Family to the Gulf

Interested		Frequency	Percentage
	No	63	76.8
	Yes	19	23.2
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 27 : Sending Children to the Gulf

Interested		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	47	57.3
	No	35	42.7
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 28 : Gulf Citizenship

Interested		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	14	17.0
	No	68	83.0
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 29 : Own Associations and the Migrants

Associations		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	28	34.1
	No	54	65.9
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 30 : Indian Embassay and the Migrants

Received help		Frequency	Percentage
	Yes	52	63.4
	No	30	36.6
Total		82	100.0

Source : Data from field survey

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CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF GULF MIGRATION

CHAPTER – 5

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION

This chapter deals with the economic impact of the Gulf migration. The issue of economic impact has been discussed in two parts. The first part deals with the economic impact at the individual or family level, and the second part discusses the economic impact at the macro level. Twelve indicators are used to measure the economic impact of migration. They are annual income, allocation of income, type of food consumed, articles used for personal hygiene and household sanitation, amenities, type of house and value of the house, type of schools preferred, means of transport to school, hospitals preferred, medical expenses, occupational mobility and employment at the native. Economic impact at the macro level is measured by comparing the data relating to the migrants on these indicators with the figures of controlled group or those who have not migrated.

The issue of migration and its economic impact on the labor sending countries has recieved much attention of the researchers. A review of literature on migration and its economic impact shows that a large number of studies have confined their examination to two issues, they are, remittance and the economic impact at the macro level. The study of Rashid Amjad on the economic impact of migration discusses the macro economic aspects, labor aspects and distribution aspects of migration[1]. In the economic aspect he has discussed the question of balance of payments, under the labor aspect functioning of the labor market including absorption of return migrants is discussed. The savings, investment and impact on

sectoral pattern of investment have been the major issues discussed by Rashid Amjad.

The paper of Aswani Saith on macro economic issues and international labor migration, discusses the issue of labor and remittance flows. The sudden withdrawal of laborers had an effect on the labor sending countries in which case some of the countries could manage to send higher skilled laborers in the place of un-skilled and semi-skilled ones. This issue has been discussed with other topics such as decline in labor migration and its effect on the exporting countries and the adjustment of balance of payment[2]. Deepak Nayyar gives a macro economic analysis, though a limited one, which seeks to outline the broad contours of labor flows and the financial flows associated with the migration process and an analysis of the macro economics of such labor migration across national boundaries relating to the mid 1970s[3]. P.R. Gopinathan Nair analyzes the impact of migration at macro and micro level on Kerela's economy in his paper titled "Incidents, Impact and Implication of Migration to the Middle East from Kerala"[4].

The work of. Prakash B.A. examines the economic impact of Gulf migration on the regional economy of Kerala. He, in his study, attempts to test a hypothesis relating to migration and its impact on regional economy. He concludes that "since the mid 1970s the factor which has given the greatest impact on regional economy especially on labor market on consumption, savings, investment, poverty, income distribution and economic growth had been the Gulf migration and remittances"[5]. This study gives an overall idea of the economic impact at macro and micro levels. The study of K. Ramachandra Nair on the utilization of foreign remittances by the local economy presents a cross section of the sample of emigrants households. In this study he attempts to investigate the general

socio-economc profile of the migrants households as well as the emigrant members in them, their income and expenditure pattern, structure of assests and liabilities, and the general pattern of utlization of foreign remittances and the problems connected with the above things[6].

The study of Zachariah K.C et. al. gives a broad picture of the effect of migration, self employment and its effect on consumer goods production at the household level in Kerala[7]. The paper by K.P. Kannan and K.S. Hari is important. In the paper they have attempted to quantify foreign remittance[8]. It quantifies the remittances from abroad to Kerala economy since 1972. They have taken both remittances through legal channels as well as remittances through illegal channels. The study also concludes that these remittance have influenced income, consumption and savings in the Kerala economy.

Though these studies provide rich information on the issue of economic impact due to migration, we do not have any information about the labor market situation, employment, wages and their effect on the Dakshina Kannada district. This is the context which actually makes the analysis of economic impact of migration on Dakshina Kannada district more urgent. The main objective of this chapter is to present the economic impact of migrants to the Gulf countries at their origin. The study takes up the samples from two categories i.e., migrants and non-migrants. A contrast and comparison is made between the migrant to the Gulf country and the non-migrant in terms of investment on education, on consumption and on agriculture and business. Migration causes dual employment opportunities in its process. In the first case a migrant engages himself in one employment and thus become a productive entity on the one hand and on the other hand, the money sent by

him becomes a very important source of employment and thereby helps to some extent to solve the problem of unemployment at the native place. Moreover, the migration process itself, in the form of approving visa, physical checkup, medical certificate, passport office, emigration check not required certificate and other related things are responsible for creating job opportunities at the native.

The strength of any nation is partially measured with the strength of the foreign exchange the country earns. India being very rich in human resources, could send laborers in large numbers to other countries. This migration of laborers in turn has brought a rich remittance to the country and that foreign remittance has improved the foreign exchange condition of the country. The migrant sends his income to his country either in the form of unrequited transfers or repatriable deposits which automatically increases the foreign exchange of his country. The economic impact is observed on the general human expenditure too. The migration pattern lowers the expenditure of the country on security, electricity and food consumption, because when a person migrates to another country the responsibility of the country where he is employed increases in looking after the migrant's well-being. Hence the labor exporting country benefits in reducing its over heads on the items mentioned above. The economic impact is seen in terms of tourism too. It encourages tourism in different forms like taking their friends to the native from destination or relatives or family to the destination.

In this chapter data on the above said twelve indicators are presented in order to sketch out the economic impact of migration on the economy of Dakshina Kannada. The data give a comparative picture of migrants and non-migrants. While some figures give a rough idea about the background of the economic growth, others

show a direct economic impact. The samples are taken from the migrants and non-migrants with variables like age, sex, marital status, education and occupation. When a migrant is chosen to compare with a non-migrant care is taken to see that both have the same status. For example, if a migrant is below 30 years of age, a non-migrant is also chosen from the same age group. Similarly, if a migrant is of a Secondary School Leaving Certificate holder, the non-migrant also comes from the same educational background. If a migrant is married, a non-migrant is also taken from the married category. If a migrant is unskilled the non-migrant is also unskilled. This comparative study attempts to show how migration has affected the original place of the migrant.

Economic Impact on the Family

Annual Income

The various indicators listed give the general idea of the migrants' economic position, investment, and expenditure incurred. One of the means to assess the economic impact is, by analyzing the annual income of the migrants. The Table no. 31 gives a picture of annual income of the migrants and the non-migrants. It is assumed by this study and is also argued by other studies that higher the income greater the economic impact. Because ultimately the migrant spends his savings in his native. The data in the table show that in the category of annual income of rupees fifty thousand and below there are only 5 migrants. But the number of non-migrants is significantly more than the migrants and it is 41. Under rupees fifty thousand to one lakh category of annual income the difference between migrants and non-migrants is not so significant. In this category there are 24 migrants and 32 non-migrants. Once at the higher level the difference between migrants and non-

migrants appears to be glaring. Under one lakh to one and a half lakh category there are 37 migrants and 15 non-migrants. Under one lakh fifty thousand to two lakhs category there are 25 migrants and 12 non-migrants. Under the category of more than two lakhs, 17 are migrants and 8 are non migrants. These figures clearly show that the migrants have a better annual income when compared with the non-migrants.

A significant finding of this study is that eventhough the educational qualification, occupational skill, social status of the migrant and the non-migrants are the same, difference is observed in the annual income of the migrant. Migration has brought a drastic advancement in the economic status of the migrants. The migrants agree that they would not have earned so much if they had not migrated to the Gulf countries. Economic advancement is also observed in the standard of living and the assets they possess. Economic explanation for better quality of life (salary of the migrants is more, so the migrants annual income is more) is a common one and any one could easily give. But we need to consider other factors like the life style of the migrants at the destination. The annual income of the migrant is more than that of non-migrant because the former lives alone in the destination and his family lives at the native, but the standard of living of migrants is lower in the destination than in the country of origin. Hence the migrants' earning is not spent corresponding to the living condition of the country where he stays.

In the case of the non-migrant, the earnings of the non-migrant and consumption of the family being in the context of same standard of living there is always less possibility of annual savings. The improtant aspect of comparison between migrant and non-migrant household is their economic status. This can be assessed

through the assests owned and the annual income earned. The increase of annual income in the form of remittance is pointed out by Department of Economic and Statistics survey that "in migrant households nearly 60% of the income was received as remittances. This indicates that there is a definite increase in the income of the migrant households due to migration"[9]. The economic disparity between the migrants and non-migrants is also pointed out by Sekher T.V. He says that the migrant's asset position and standard of life are far higher than that of non-migrants[10].

The discussion on the annual income of the migrant and non-migrant shows that the income of the migrant is always better than that of the non-migrant, when the comaprison is made with equal status in all terms between migrant and non-migrant. Even distribution of sample emigrants by monthly salary and wage level present the finding that the migrant always earned more than non-migrants[11]. The findings of this study and also of the previous studies support the thesis that income and asset positions of the migrant have been better than that of the non-migrant. The major reason for the acceleration of migrants' income is that, the migrant works in the country where the standard of living and remuneration are higher than that of India. The analysis and comparison between migrants and non-migrants clearly shows how the migrant has materialized his income. Thus the exodus of many skilled, semi-skilled, educated or uneducated migrant workers has affected the economic condition in the micro level. The economic impact is directly observed in the consumption pattern of the migrant. They have not only increased the consumption but also have brought home consumer durables.

Allocation of Income

Here, effort is made to bring out the contrast between the migrant and non-migrant in allocation of household income for consumption, education, agriculture, land purchased , business, bank deposits, debts, dowry and construction. The distribution of income always depends on the income of the migrant. If the income is high, the distribution of income is also higher. Table no 32 presents the data on allocation of income. There is a wide gap between non-migrants and migrants regarding the distribution of household income. In this table the allocation of income has been divided into six categories. In the first category the annual income of the people is below fifty thousand, in the second category rupees fifty thousand to one lakh, in the third category Rupees one lakh to Rupees one lakh fifty thousand, in the fourth category Rupees one lakh fifty thousand to two lakhs, fifth category two lakhs to three lakhs and last category is three lakhs to four lakhs.

The data explicitly show that, non-migrants are more in the lower income category, whereas migrants are more in the higher income category. This is one of the reasons to confirm that the distribution of household income is higher among the migrant than among the non-migrant. The data (Table no. 32) also show the distribution of their income on household necessities. Significant differences can be pointed out in the distribution of the household income for household necessities between people of lower income and those of higher income. A migrant of Rs. 50,000 income category, spends 70% of his income on consumption, 5.5% for bank deposits, 5% on education, 1% on construction, 1% on agricultrue, 5% on purcahse of land, 0% on business, 5% on dowry, 5% on repayment of debt, 2.5% on others. Whereas the non-migrant spends 65% on consumption, 2% on education, 15% on agriculture, 1% on

purchase of land, 0% on business, 2.5% on bank deposits, 2% on dowry, 9.5% on repayment of debt, 1% on construction and 2% on other expenses.

Food Consumption

Items consumed such as food is one of the indicators by which one can measure the economic standard of an individual. Better quality of food indicates higher standard of living of a person. In the survey it is observed that the migrants have preferred better food than the non–migrant. The findings on the type of food consumed by the migrant and non migrant is presented. (Table no.33). In order to know about the food consumption of migrants and non-migrants a few food items are listed. They are rice, milk, vegetables, drinks, fruits etc. The data present the frequency of consumption of these items by the migrants and non-migrants over a specified duration like occasionally, daily, most of the time, never and all the days. On the basis of the data we can come to the conclusion that when compared to non-migrants the migrants consume more hygienic and qualitative food. Working paper II of Zachariah K.C. et. al. confirms the findings of our study that the migrants consume better food than the non-migrants[12].

Household Sanitation and Amenities

An important feature of the migrant families is that they take care of hygienic and household sanitation. Migration to the far off places has helped them to understand the importance of health and cleanliness. The migrant is influenced by the ways of life in the country he has migrated. The understanding of different life styles makes a migrant to alter his life syle in such way that the new one has many elements of the one which has attracted him. Migration has brought discipline and has motivated his family to be hygienic

and neat. This is another indicator to evaluate the economic status and standard of living of the migrant in comparison to the non-migrant. The migrant's purchasing capacity of sanitation articles is better than that of non-migrants. The migrants are more hygienic and use better sanitation articles for their personal use.

The concept of a better standard of life has also introduced the migrants to new world of homes with modern gadgets. The migrants could afford these gadgets whereas, the non- migrants cannot. Table no. 34 gives the data on the products used by the migrants and the non-migrants. The effect of migration is demonstrated by comparing the number of modern gadgets used by the emigrants with that of the non-migrants. Data in the table no. 35 on amenities show the possession of the consumer durables by migrants and non-migrants. There are 19 common household goods in the table. The household goods like motor car, motor cycle, telephone, television and video cassette recorder are some of the gadgets which form the list of consumable household goods. It is found that expensive goods like motor car and motor cycle are used more by the migrants than by the non-migrants. But the common goods like clocks, fans and watches are found in both the households. Our data show that a few of the consumer goods are common to both households because they are basic necessities in every house. But some of the electronic gadgets have become the part of migrant households because of the "Dubai syndrome" – a term coined by T.V.Seker to explain the influence of life style of the destination. But costly items like car are still rare in both the households. This study argues that the migrants are capable of owning more consumer goods than the non migrant. The puchasing capacity has increased in the emigrants' family due to migration. The findings of other studies on migration also support the findings of this study. Ramachandra Nair says "the possession of consumer

durables by migrant households also showed a significant increase since emigration" [13].

House Value

As it is indicated earlier, the migrants have invested a good portion of their income on construction of houses. The migrants houses are not only costly, but are also filled with expenseive consumer durables and have modern facilities. These data show that migration has not only improved their living condition but the facilities they have within the house are also improved. In comparison to the migrants, the facilities available in the houses of non-migrants are less in number. These things actually influence the value of respective houses. Table no. 36 depicts the value of the house possessed by the respondents. There are 50 houses of non migrants worth rupees three lakhs and below. But in this category we do not find any house belonging to the migrants. In the category of houses worth Rupees three lakhs to Rupees six lakhs we could find 19 migrant and 42 non-migrants houses. Within the range of six lakh to nine lakh 39 migrant's and 5 non-migrant's houses are found. 33 of the migrants own houses worth Rupees nine lakhs to twelve lakhs. In this category there are only 7 non-migrant's houses. When only four non-migrants own houses worth Rupees twelve lakhs and above, there are 17 migrants who own this type of house.

According to B.A. Prakash 36% of the migrants' income has been spent on construction, improvement or purchase of buildings[14]. Other studies also confirm these findings. For example a study by Ramachanda Nair and T.V. Sekher says that construction of houses is a common and an important activity among most of the Gulf migrants[15]. A large proportion of remittances is utilized for

this purpose alone. The investment of the migrants in constructing house is a necessity, because most of the migrants are from either middle class or lower middle class who did not have a decent house to live in when they migrated. Migration has enhanced their economic status and enabled them to realise their long cherished dream of constructing a good house. Therefore most of the migrants invest in building a decent house.

Types of Schools Prefered

The question of medium of education is a pan Indian problem. Each state experiences a contest between its regional language and English. In this respect Karnataka is not an exception. Here also the debate on English versus Kannada medium is going on. At the same time the number of English medium schools is growing year by year. Infact that macro phenomenon is reflected in the present study also. Majority of the migrants, i.e. 93 members prefered English medium and only 15 migrants are willing to send their kids to Kannada medium schools (table no. 37). But it does not mean that in this respect non-migrants would present a contrasting picture. Even though we could find some difference the number of non-migrants who would like to send their kids to English medium schools is not less. Fifty six (56) of the non-migrants preferred their children to study in English medium schools and 52 in Kannada medium schools.

Why do the migrants prefer English Medium Schools? The most common answer received for this question in the course of field survey is related to their past experiences. The previous experience of the difficulty of mastering English language by the migrants has made them to face a number of problems while transacting or communicating with the external world. Language

has been a great hurdle for the migrants in many cases to get a better job and to communicate their ideas to others at the destination. This realization of the importance of language has made them to send their children compulsorily to the English medium schools. The migrants did not want their children to under go the suffering that they had undergone because of the language and low quality of education. This has initiated the migrants to be careful in choosing the schools for their children. It is rightly pointed out by T.V. Sekher that "many respondents confessed that they did not want their children to miss opportunities in their life, as they themselves had, due to the lack of education"[16]. The data of this study also have similar findings. The migrants want their children to be prosperous and excel in life with good education. This realization has made the migrants to be cautious in the selection of schools for their children.

Means of Transport to School

The mode of transportation provided to the children shows the standard of living of the migrant and non-migrant. The data in table no. 38 show that, while 19 of the migrants families use bus facility to send their kids to school, 38 non-migrants use bus facility to send their kids to school. Very few children are sent to school by car. 16 of the migrants and 3 of the non-migrants used car to send their children to schools. Auto is a very common mode of conveyance for school going children. In this study also 55 migrants and 30 non-migrants send their kids by auto to schools. 7 of the migrants and 4 of the non-migrants send their children by two wheelers. 29 children of non-migrants family and 4 children of migrants' family go to school on foot, and also 7 of the migrant and 4 of the non-migrants come under other category.

The migrants' families have given a lot of importance to their children's education. Migrants try to provide better facilities to their children. For the sake of the better educational facilities for their children they have moved from rural to urban areas. Those who could not move to urban places have made necessary arrangements to take their children to schools located in urban areas by means of buses, cars or autos. According to the figures presented in the table it is clear that most of the migrants have made sincere attempt to provide the best transport facilities to their children. However in the case of non-migrants it is not the case. From this we cannot say that non-migrants are against those facilities or they don't want their kids to be educated in good schools. Infact it is the other way round, they too prefer to send their kids to better schools. But they could not afford the hefty fees and expenses involved in sending their kids to better schools. Migrants could do those things due to their better resource position.

Health Issues

This section discusses two things related to health issues. One, the type of hospitals preferred and two, the money spent on health by the migrants and non-migrants. There are two types of hospitals– private and public or government hospitals. Just like the question of medium of education, the question of quality of health services is divided into two types – private and public health services. The private health service is associated with good quality whereas the public is synonymous with low quality services. Let us not dispute that all pervading value judgment on the quality of health services. Based on that hypothesis we easily infer that only rich or economically well to do people can afford private health services and those who go to public or government hospitals are the economically weak. Data in the table.39 gives a broad picture of

the type of hospitals preferred by the migrant and the non-migrant. According to the figures of table 39 only 5 migrants go to government hospitals for treatment whereas 41 non-migrants depend on government hospitals for their health services. On the other hand, 103 migrants go to private hospitals and only 67 non-migrants could afford private health services. These figures reveal that the better economic positions enabled the migrants to go to private hospitals. However based on these findings we cannot come to any judgement on the quality of services rendered by these two sectors. At the same time these data show that there is a high level of consciousness among the migrants about health, education, and hygiene. The income received by the migrant household encouraged them to prefer such facilities. The figure indicates that majority of the migrants prefer private hospitals to government hospitals. The government hospitals in India in general do not meet the expected standard of service. Moreover, to have treatment in the private hospitals it is believed is also a prestigious issue to the migrant. Hence, in order to maintain the social respect and get the best service private hospitals have been preferred.

It is observed that following their economic prosperity and increased exposure, the migrants' families became more health conscious and went for the best medical care available[17]. Figures in table no. 40 indicates the expenses of medical treatment in a year incurred by migrants and non-migrants. 14 migrants and 54 non-migrants incurred annual medical expenses of Rs 500. In Rs 500 to 1000 annual medical expenses bracket there are 28 migrants and 41 non-migrants. In Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500 category there are 32 migrants and 7 non-migrants. In the category of above Rs 1500 expenses there are 34 migrants and 6 non-migrants. It is clear from the above figures that the high income of migrants enables them to go for better health care and also to go to private hospitals.

Economic Impact at the Macro Level :

Occupational Mobility

In order to understand the occupational mobility at three stages - before migration, at the destination and after the return - eight indicators are used. They are government employment, private jobs, self employment, agricultural labor, job seekers, household workers, students, and others. The data in the table no.41 show that none of the migrants have worked in the government sector before migration, 10 of them were employed in the government sector at the destination and none of the migrants after their return from the Gulf worked in the government sector. In the private sector, thirty one of them worked before migration, thirty six at the destination and twenty three after their return from the Gulf. Twelve of the migrants were self employed before their migration, ten of them at the destination and forty two after their return to their native. Twenty two migrants had been agricultural laborers before their migration. All of them continued to be agricultural laborers at the destination and all of them ceased to be agricultural laborers after their return. Twelve were household workers before migration to the Gulf. Twenty six of the migrants were household workers at the destination and none of them were household workers after their return. Twenty three of the migrants were job seekers before migration. All of them were employed at the destination and nobody was left unemployed after their return. In the category of students no figure has been identified. Eight of the migrants belonged to other categories before migration, four at the destination and none after return. The column others refer to those migrants who were not interested to reveal their job identity.

The total occupational mobility findings give the picture that the migrants were better employed at the destination. Owing to

their higher income at the destination the migrants did not go back to their previous job at the native. Instead the migrants have started their own establishments or involved in agricultural activities. It is clear from the figures that migration helped migrants to get better occupations at the destination or there is occupational mobility. In other words the mobility of occupation marks the key note of migration. There is an occupational improvement when one moves from his native place to the destination and also when he returns back. The migrant moves out of his country in search of a better job. This is a feature of most of the migrants. The sample study justifies this fact that the difference of the occupation of a migrant before his migration and at the destination and thereafter is progressive. This is a very important evidence which tells that migration has provided a better occupational position for the migrant than his previous job.

The main objective of migration is to earn a better salary and to improve the standard of living. The migration takes place only when there is a chance to move towards better opportunity i.e., from a low paying occupation to a better paying occupation. Thus acquisition of better position is the consequence of migration. From the studies it is clear that most of the migrants were insecure of the employment. The sample specifically indicates that most of the migrants, before their migration had been working in the private sectors. The self employed category includes establishments like tailoring shop, petty shops, grocery and other shops. Only 11% migrants appear under this category. The migrants at the destination are absorbed in different services like government, private and a small number are self employed leaving none unemployed. There is a shift in the job as well as income at the destination. Thus migration has made significant contribution in providing upward mobility to the migrants. There are a few cases in which migrants

could find jobs in the government services at destination. The employment of the migrant at the destination is far better rewarding in comparison to the employment at the origin. There have been occasions where the migrants change their jobs at the destination. So there is an upward mobility when people move from the place of origin to the place of destination.

The data in the table no. 41 tell that there are 65 returnee migrants. The condition of the migrants after their return is measured on the basis of their employment at the native place and the annual income they earn. The sample shows that of the 65 returnee migrants majority or more than fifty percent established their own business and only a few of them have taken up jobs in the private sectors. There are some cases where people who are returned have engaged themselves in agricultural and household work. But an important thing to note is that more than 80% of the returned migrants have engaged themselves in some activity. Findings regarding the migrants occupation before the migration, at the destination and thereafter concludes that the process of migration has boosted the migrants economic standard. This is proved by the fact that the migrant is able to set up a business of his own from his savings after his return. The busy routine at the destination has motivated the migrant to engage himself either in one or the other activity after his return.

Employment at the Native

Migrants have contributed in boosting the economy of native not only at the time of their migration but also after their return. Most of the migrants returned home after acquiring some amount of wealth. Even after their return from the Gulf they engage themselves either by establishing a small business or by working in

the private sector. Some of the migrants have invested in agriculture and looked after the agricultural farms. Figures in table no. 42 give information on self employment, and other occupations of the migrants after their return. There are 5 migrants who owned Autos, 4 of them continued to be tailors, another 4 started grocery stores, 3 of them started taxi service, 2 of them started dairy business, 4 of them established stationary shops, and one of them started a bakery. There are a few migrants who established other businesses too. For example, one started a vegetable shop, 2 of them automobile workshop, 2 of them started textile shops, 3 of them setup telephone booths, 6 of them got into construction work and 4 of them started business in finance. In the category of others, only one migrant is found.

The brief review of the employment of the returned migrants suggests that majority of them have undertaken self employment and a few turned back to their earlier occupations. There are a few migrants who have remained unemployed. The study of the employment pattern of the migrants shows that many started independent ventures after their return. Some of them returned due to social stigma where as others due to the family compulsion. When we look at the option taken by the migrant after their return it is obvious that they started petty business due to the lack of educational qualifications, lack of skills to pursue other occupations and false prestige woven around the migrant in the society. Majority of the migrants are from the unskilled and less educated category. The employment after their return can be selected according to that status and the sample categorically presents the same. The second reason can be that the migrant may have a stiff competition in getting employed owing to his age. There are some cases where his savings also became a reason for his reluctance to go to his previous occupation.

In the opinion of Nambiar a majority of the returned migrants preferred business as a profession. Only a few evinced interests in the traditional occupation of agriculture, fishing and construction works[18]. The first preference of most returnees was for the self employment or independent ventures. So the data and the findings of previous studies mentioned above are in agreement with our findings that most of the people preferred business or self employment as their occupation after their return.

Though the impact of Gulf migration on the economy of Dakshina Kannada has not shaken the economy of the district, it has a strong bearing at the micro level and has gone a long way in enriching the economy of the region. The marked difference of the migrants on the economy may not be felt due to their absence and non participation in the mega projects, industries and other economic sectors. But they have their own miniature contribution in numerous factors like improving their own standard of living, setting up petty establishments for themselves, taking up construction work to their capacity and investing in agriculture. This is owing to the fact that the majority of migrants to the Gulf countries are less educated, unskilled, semi skilled or technically skilled without a formal certificate. Infact the above limitations also have played some role in limiting their high earning to smaller brackets. The migrants' principal source of income has been the salary which has flown down in the form of unrequited transfers to support their families either for consumption or for investment. There is an inflow of repatriable deposits to the country of origin. The effectiveness of the economic impact at the origin due to the migrant's earnings at the destination can be analyzed by looking into investments made to make their family's life better. In this category the usual things we found were investments on houses, creating modern facilities and buying consumer durables.

In addition to the above goods sector investment we could notice a significant portion of migrants income has gone into the field of service sectors like schools and colleges, hospitals and other related things. The district is known for its service sector activities, especially in the education and health sectors. Even though we did not attempt to quantify the impact of migration on these sectors, it is clear from the data on migrants spending on health and education that a large number of migrants depend on private sector. This dependence definitely has a say in the formation and growth of the private sector in the district. Besides these short term consumption oriented investments we could also notice investment in agriculture, industry and business. But both the industry and agriculture sectors have not found a strong rooting in the district. Over the years the labor force engaged in the agriculture is declining fast. But to everybody's surprise the loss of employment in the agriculture sector did not make benefit in the industrial sector. On the other hand it is moving towards service sector including small petty businesses. This has been reflected by the investments made by the Gulf returned migrants. Most of them invested in small or petty business and a small segment in agriculture and a still small segment in industry.

The migration process itself is one of the first factor in raising the economy of the migrants country of origin because a simultaneous process of imports and exports begins with migration. A migrant usually requires the daily living necessities at the destination. Being a stranger to the new place, the migrant will find it difficult to adjust to the food, drinks, and clothing of the destination This in return creates demands for the goods from native countries and that in turn indirectly promotes export. Simultaneously, import also takes place during their return, due to the exposure of consumer goods at the destination. The migrant

becomes an ambassador to the native place as well as to the migrated country. The migrant will introduce the place, food system, clothing, living condition and culture to the nation where he has migrated and on his return the migrant will introduce the same to the people at the origin. Therefore, there is a tacit transformation and transmission of entrepreneurship between the countries.

To sum up, the economic impact can be felt only when the manpower is transformed into economic power. India, being one of the densely populated countries, it is only sensible on her part to utilize the manpower to develop its economy. In this connection the involvement and the role of Gulf migrant is remarkable. The process of migration on the whole works either at the micro or macro edge in boosting the economy of the country. The very fact that migration takes place implies that the migrant himself invites the responsibility to involve him in productivity and also creating indirectly employment at his native through the financial flow from the destination. The whole analysis presents the actual impact of migrants on the regional economy The factors like being unprofessional, unskilled, semi-skilled, and less educated might have hindered the migrants to get better jobs in the destination. But no body could dispute the fact that even those small jobs and small payments have not stopped the migrants from sending a large part of his earnings to the native place. In comparison to the savings made by the non-migrants, the savings of the migrants are far higher. Of course a large chunk of these savings have been used for consumption purpose and also for buying modern gadgets and other consumer durable. But it is also true that some part of the savings have been invested in business, agriculture and industry. In this way savings and consumption of the migrants have enhanced the economic position of the migrants. Besides, they have played a significant role in creating employment in the regional economy.

Table no. 31 : Annual Income of the Migrants' and the Non Migrants' Families

Income clasification			Migrants	Non migrants	Total
	<50000	Count	5	41	46
		%	4.6%	38.0%	21.3%
	50000 -- 100000	Count	24	32	56
		%	22.2%	29.6%	25.9%
	100000 –150000	Count	37	15	52
		%	34.2%	13.9%	24.1%
	150000 –200000	Count	25	12	37
		%	23.2%	11.1%	17.1%
	>200000	Count	17	8	25
		%	15.8%	7.4%	11.6%
Total		Count	108	108	216
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source : Data from field survey

Table 32

ALLOCATION OF INCOME

	No. of Fami-lies	Migrants											No. of Fami-lies	Non Migrants										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
< 50,000	5	70%	5%	1%	5%	0%	5.5%	5%	5%	1%	2.5%	100%	41	65%	2%	15%	1%	0%	2.5%	2%	9.5%	1%	2%	100%
50,000–100000	24	60%	5%	8%	2.5%	0%	3%	8.5%	3.5%	2.5%	4%	100%	32	55%	4.5%	12.5%	5%	4%	2%	3%	8%	3.5%	2.5%	100%
100000–150000	37	50%	8%	5.5%	7%	0%	3.5%	7%	2.5%	8.5%	5%	100%	15	50%	7%	15.5%	4%	1%	3%	4.5%	8.5%	4%	3.5%	100%
150,000–200000	25	40%	10%	4%	10%	5%	3.5%	9%	0%	10%	6.5%	100%	11	40%	9%	12.5%	4%	6%	2.5%	6%	9%	6%	5%	100%
20,000–300000	13	30%	12%	5%	10%	5%	2%	11%	0%	14.5%	8%	100%	6	30%	11.5%	18%	7%	4.5%	2%	8.5%	3.5%	9%	6%	100%
30,000–400000	4	20%	14.5%	1.5%	14%	5%	2%	15%	0%	17.5%	10%	100%	3	20%	1%	16.5%	8.5%	0%	7%	11%	0%	15%	7.5%	100%

1 – Consumption 2 – Education 3 – Agriculture 4– Purchase of Land
5 – Business 6 – Bank Deposit 7 – Dowry 8 – Repayment of Debt.
9 – Construction 10 – Other 11 – Total

ALLOCATION OF INCOME

	No. of Families	Total of Migrants and Non-migrants										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
< 50,000	46	67.5%	3.5%	8%	3%	0%	4%	3.5%	7.3%	1%	2.2%	100%
50,000–100000	56	57.5%	6.3%	10.2%	3.3%	2%	2.5%	5.2%	5.2%	3%	3.3%	100%
100000–150000	52	50%	8.5%	10.5%	5.5%	0.5%	3.3%	5.7%	5.5%	6.3%	4.2%	100%
150,000–200000	36	40%	10.5%	8.2%	7%	5.5%	3%	7.5%	4.5%	8%	5.8%	100%
20,000–300000	19	30%	13%	11.5%	8.5%	5%	2%	10%	2%	11%	7%	100%
30,000–400000	7	20%	14.3%	9%	11.7%	2.5%	4.5%	13%	0%	16.3%	18.5%	100%

1 – Consumption 2 – Education 3 – Agriculture 4– Purchase of Land
5 – Business 6 – Bank Deposit 7 – Dowry 8 – Repayment of Debt.
9 – Construction 10 – Other 11 – Total

Table no. 33 : Food Consumption among the Migrants and the Non Migrants

Types of food		Migrants				Non migrants				Total				
		All the days	Most of the days	Occasionally	Never	All the days	Most of the days	Occa n	Never	All the days	Most of the days	Occasionally	Never	Total
Rice	Count	108	0	0	0	108	0	0	0	216	0	0	0	2
	%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100
Milk	Count	108	0	0	0	108	0	0	0	216	0	0	0	2
	%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100
Curd ghee	Count	25	73	10	0	6	13	63	26	31	86	73	26	2
	%	23.0%	68%	9.0%	.0%	6.0%	12%	58.0%	24.1%	14.4%	40%	33.8%	12.0%	100
Ice cream	Count	0	0	108	0	0	6	37	65	0	6	145	65	2
	%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	6.0%	34.0%	60.0%	.0%	2.8%	67.1%	30.1%	100
Meat	Count	6	101	0	1	4	59	34	11	10	160	34	12	2
	%	5.6%	94%	.0%	.9%	4.0%	55%	31.0%	10.0%	4.6%	74%	15.7%	5.6%	100
Expensive fish	Count	21	81	5	1	3	18	69	18	24	99	74	19	2
	%	19.5%	75%	5.0%	.9%	3.0%	17%	64.0%	16.0%	11.1%	46%	34.3%	8.8%	100
Cheaper fish	Count	0	0	107	1	85	23	0	0	85	23	107	1	2
	%	.0%	.0%	99.1%	.9%	78.0%	22%	.0%	.0%	39.4%	11%	49.5%	.5%	100
Vegetables	Count	108	0	0	0	108	0	0	0	216	0	0	0	2
	%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100
Expensive Fruits	Count	22	86	0	0	7	22	20	59	29	108	20	59	2
	%	21.0%	79%	.0%	.0%	6.0%	20%	19.0%	24.0%	13.4%	50%	9.3%	27.3%	100
Cheaper fruits	Count	98	10	0	0	23	28	57	0	121	38	57	0	2
	%	91.0%	9.0%	.0%	.0%	21.0%	26%	53.0%	.0%	56.0%	18%	26.4%	.0%	100
Pulses	Count	1	85	22	0	3	16	52	37	4	101	74	37	2
	%	.9%	78%	21.0%	.0%	3.0%	15%	48.0%	34.0%	1.9%	47%	34.3%	17.0%	100
Coffee/Tea	Count	108	0	0	0	108	0	0	0	216	0	0	0	2
	%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100
Health drinks	Count	103	5	0	0	12	24	38	34	115	29	38	34	2
	%	95.0%	5.0%	.0%	.0%	11.0%	22%	35.0%	32.00	53.3%	13%	17.6%	15.7%	100
Soft drinks	Count	0	89	19	0	0	13	68	27	0	102	87	27	2
	%	.0%	82%	18.0%	.0%	.0%	10%	65.0%	25.00	.0%	47%	40.3%	12.5%	100

Source : Data from field survey

Table no. 34 : Articles used for Personal Hygyine and Household Sanitation

Articles		Migrants			Non migrants			Total		
		All the days	Most of the days	Occasionally	All the days	Most of the days	Occasionally	All the days	Most of the days	Occasionally
Tooth paste		108	0	0	108	0	0	216	0	
	%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0
Toilet soap		108	0	0	108	0	0	216	0	
	%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0%	100%	.0%	.0
Detergent for washing		66	33	9	61	24	23	127	24	3
	%	61.1%	30.6%	8.3%	57.0%	23.0%	21.0%	58.8%	11.1%	14.8
Liquid cleaner for the floor		62	30	16	13	18	77	75	48	9
	%	58.00	28.0%	14.0%	12.0%	17.0%	71.0%	34.7%	22.2%	43.1

Source : Data from field survey

Table 35

Amenities

Amenities		Migrants	Non Migrants	Total
Motor Car	Count	16	8	24
	%	15%	7.4%	11.11%
Motor Cycle	Count	74	60	134
	%	69%	55.6%	62%
Telephone	Count	93	63	156
	%	86%	58.3%	72.22%
Television	Count	97	81	178
	%	90%	75%	82.40%
VCR	Count	33	15	48
	%	31%	13.9%	22.22%
Water Pump	Count	89	63	152
	%	82%	58.3%	70.37%
Sewing Machine	Count	35	12	47
	%	32%	11.1%	21.75%
Refrigerator	Count	87	63	150
	%	81%	58.3%	69.44%
Washing Machine	Count	80	35	115
	%	74%	32.4%	53.24%
Gas Stove	Count	104	90	194
	%	96%	83.3%	89.81%
Maxine	Count	96	46	142
	%	89%	42.6%	65.74%
Fan	Count	108	108	216
	%	100%	100%	100%
Clock	Count	108	108	216
	%	100%	100%	100%
Stereo	Count	93	58	151
	%	86%		69.90%
Watch	Count	108	108	216
	%	100%	100%	100%
Cycle	Count	47	50	97
	%	44%		44.90%
Iron Box	Count	108	92	110
	%	100%	85.2%	50.92%
Radio	Count	96	60	156
	%	89%	55.6%	72.22%
Sofa	Count	91	32	113
	%	84%	29.62%	52.31%

Table no. 36 : Value of the House

Value of the House			Migrants	Non migrants	Total
	<300000	Count	0	50	50
		%	.0%	46.3%	23.1%
	300000 – 600000	Count	19	42	61
		%	18.0%	38.9%	28.3%
	600000 – 900000	Count	39	5	44
		%	37.0%	4.6%	20.4%
	900000 –1200000	Count	33	7	40
		%	30.0%	6.5%	18.5%
	>1200000	Count	17	4	21
		%	15.0%	3.7%	9.7%
Total		Count	108	108	216
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 37 :Types of Schools Preferred

Medium of instruction			Migrants	Non migrants	Total
	English Medium	Count	93	56	149
		%	86.1%	51.9%	69.0%
	Kannada Medium	Count	15	52	67
		%	13.9%	48.1%	31.0%
Total		Count	108	108	216
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 38 : Means of Transport to School

Means			Migrants	Non migrants	Total
	Bus	Count	19	38	57
		%	18.0%	35.0%	26.4%
	Own car	Count	16	3	19
		%	15.0%	2.6%	8.8%
	Auto rikshaw	Count	55	30	85
		%	51.0%	28.0%	39.4%
	Own two wheeler	Count	7	4	11
		%	6.5%	3.7%	5.1%
	Walking	Count	4	29	33
		%	3.0%	27.0%	15.2%
	Other	Count	7	4	11
		%	6.5%	3.7%	5.1%
Total		Count	108	108	216
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 39 :Type of Hospital Preferred

Type			Migrants	Non migrants	Total
	Govt.	Count	5	41	46
		%	4.6%	38.0%	21.3%
	Private	Count	103	67	170
		%	95.4%	62.0%	78.7%
Total		Count	108	108	216
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 40 : Annual Medical Expenses

Amount			Migrants	Non migrants	Total
	-500.00	Count	14	54	68
		%	12.9%	50.0%	31.5%
	500 – 1000	Count	28	41	69
		%	25.9%	38.0%	31.9%
	1000–1500	Count	32	7	39
		%	29.6%	6.5%	18.1%
	-1500.00	Count	34	6	40
		%	31.6%	5.5%	18.5%
Total		Count	108	108	216
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 41 : Occupational Mobility of the Migrants

Occupation		Puttur			Mangalore			Total		
		Before Migra	At Desti	After Migra	Before Migra	At Destin	After Migra	Before Migra	At Destin	After Migra
Government	Count	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	10	0
	%	0	10.0%	.00	.0%	9.00	.0%	.0%	9.30	.0%
Private	Count	12	16	7	19	20	16	31	36	23
	%	29.00	40.0%	30.00	28.0%	29.00	38.00	28.50	33.30	35.40
Self employment	Count	3	4	16	9	6	26	12	10	42
	%	8.00	10.0%	70.00	13.0%	9.00	62.0%	11.2%	9.3%	64.6%
Agriculture Labour	Count	7	4	0	15	18	0	22	22	0
	%	18.00	10.0%	.0%	22.0%	26.5%	.0%	20.30	20.3%	.0%
Job seeker	Count	9	0	0	14	0	0	23	0	0
	%	22.0%	.0%	.0%	21.0%	.0%	.00	21.3%	.0%	.0%
Household worker	Count	6	8	0	6	18	0	12	26	0
	%	15.0%	20.0%	.0%	9.0%	26.5%	0	11.20	24.00	.0%
Student	Count	0	0	0	0	0	.00	0	0	.00
	%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%
Other	Count	3	4	0	5	0	.00	8	4	0
	%	8.00	10.0%	.0%	7.0%	.0%	.0%	7.5%	3.70	.0%
Total	Count	40	40	23	68	68	42	108	108	65
	%	100.0%	100%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table 42

Employment at the Native Place

Type		Mangalore	Puttur	Total
Autorickshaw	Count	2	3	5
	%	7.69	18.75	11.90
Tailoring	Count	2	2	4
	%	7.69	12.5	9.52
Grocery stores	Count	3	1	4
	%	11.53	6.25	9.52
Taxi Car service	Count	2	1	3
	%	7.69	6.25	7.14
Dairy	Count	1	1	2
	%	3.84	6.25	4.76
Stationary shop	Count	3	1	4
	%	11.53	6.25	9.52
Bakery	Count	1	0	1
	%	3.84	0	2.38
Vegetable shop	Count	1	0	1
	%	3.84	6	2.38
Automobile workshop	Count	1	1	2
	%	3.84	6.25	4.76
Textile shop	Count	1	1	2
	%	3.84	6.25	4.76
STD Booth	Count	2	1	3
	%	7.69	6.25	7.14
Contractor	Count	4	2	6
	%	15.38	12.5	14.28
Finance	Count	2	2	4
	%	7.69	12.5	9.52
Other	Count	1	0	1
	%	3.84	0	2.38
Total	Count	26	16	42
	%	100	100	100

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CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF GULF MIGRATION

CHAPTER – 6

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF GULF MIGRATION

The social impact of Gulf migration is discussed in this chapter. Under the social impact of Gulf migration two broad issues are considered for detailed analysis. They are - one, the condition or status of women left behind, and two, the condition or status of the elderly dependents of migrants. To measure the impact of migration on the wives left behind six indicators are used. They are – means of communication, frequency of letter writing, frequency of phone calls, looking after the children, managing social relations of the family, managing family finance, problems of the wives left behind, added responsibility and interval of marriage and first migration. To measure the status or condition of the aged dependents of the migrants, four indicators are used. They are – elderly and family, health condition, occupational status, elderly and socio-economic status. The contents of the chapter are presented in two parts. The first part explains the conditions of wives left behind and the second part deals with the status of the elderly.

Social Impact on the Wives Left Behind

The family, no doubt, is an integral part of society. Without families, there cannot be a society. Family comprises a group of people who are knit together by marriage or blood relation. Thus society is a collection of different people, having their own caste creed, culture and food habits. When a collection of people come together rules and regulations, customs and practices come into existence with or without the knowledge of the people. Family being a part of society, these rules and regulations, customs and

practices directly or indirectly begin to influence every individual of that society. Wives or husbands, who are responsible for forming the family, are influenced by these customs and practices. Practicing the well established customs is nothing but shouldering a number of responsibilities like looking after the children, providing education, imparting the moral values to the children, looking after the aged people, meeting the household necessities, maintaining healthy relationship within the family and protecting and maintaining the house and property. Infact all these have become a part of an ordinary human being as if they were natural things in any civilized society. So this societal pressure on every family keeps the family as a united whole. This demand of society on every family can be broadly called social impact.

The social impact can be defined as a process which directly or indirectly influence the prevailing customs or practices of the society, meant for the smooth functioning of its members. These customs and practices govern every member of the society as an abstract entity unknowingly. Thus, it creates or modifies the prevailing uniform behavior among all its members. A husband and a wife are the primary unit of a family. Indirectly they are also the primary unit of a society in general. They are governed and directed by the society to discharge a few duties and responsibilities in accordance with its norms. Generally, the customs and practices of the society is, most of the time, are carried out together by both husband and the wife. When the husband and wife are together, the responsibilities of the family are shared between them. But when the husband migrates, the wife is left behind alone or left with other members of the husband's family. She has to discharge these family responsibilities either individually or in association with the other members of the family. Whatever may be the help she may get from

the other members of the family, their assistance would not fill the vacuum created by her husbands migration. Hence it is assumed that migration has a definite say in increasing the responsibilities and putting other pressures on the wives. A sample is taken to study the background and the responsibilities of wives of the migrant who are left behind at the origin.

Research findings suggest that the social impact of migration is not only highly culture specific, but also that they vary markedly within a country depending on such factors as the socio-economic level of the migrant household, life cycle stage of the family and social support available to the persons left behind. The international labor migration has played an important role in different areas of the society. It could change, though not drastically, the economy of the nation and the social roles of the family. The women who are left behind because of the male migration have found their roles in the family drastically altered. Thus labor migration has given a new status to the women in rural communities. The Gulf migration and its consequences on the economy, society and elders of the family have received attention of the scholars and government agencies. They have produced vast literature on the above aspects.

A study by Khafagy on two hundred migrant and non-migrant families in an Egyptian village concludes that women left behind become more involved in cultivation, managing household affairs, participating in family related decision making and management of financial affairs[1]. On the other hand Taylor observed in a study on the male migration of a particular village Geza that male emigration did not have any impressive change in the life style or productive roles of migrants' wives[2]. Some studies have shown that women in migrants' households seem to be emerging as independent persons

with more authority and power in family decision making than before their husbands migration[3]. Studies on the role of women left behind show that they take and implement economic decisions for the family especially if they are the only adults in the households. Findly and Williams examined the consequences of migration on the community left behind and on the country that received migrants. In the study they focused on male migration and its impact and consequences[4]. Today the trend of migration is changing and the attention is laid on the dislocation of migrants and its effect on the families left behind especially on the wives at the native. As a result the negative aspects like family dissolution, psychological problems of women and breakdown of family system have been increasing.[5] Study of 74 families in Jordan by Kemiar and Ismail concludes that labor migration weakened the traditional family ties and increased intra family problems in situation where the wife and children have been left behind[6].

Sekher T.V.makes an attempt to examine the impact of male emigration on the family left behind with a specific reference to women's position from a rural Indian perspective[7]. In the study, he looks at the whole problem from two perspectives. The changes in the female sex role in the absence of migrant husbands and the changes in the newly acquired roles after the return of migrant husbands. Leela Gulati examines migration and social change in Kerala. She looks into the issue of womens status at home and attempts to examine a number of issues connected with wives status after their husbands migration[8]. Centering around the above objective she attempts to answer a number of questions like how are their household obligations and authority affected. Do new network of relationships emerge for wives and daughters of migrants and non-migrants? What is the impact of migration on the changing role

and status of women with in the family household? How does migration change the power and control over their lives? What are the resultant changes in family formation, reproduction and the tempo of child bearing? From the findings of these studies we can infer that migration of male has made a female capable of 'taking up responsibilities' 'to be active' and 'to be independent'. This study, in the light of the above discussion, makes an attempt to analyze the change in the role of women in the households due to the male migration. The participation of women in different responsibilities due to the absence of their husbands is observed through different indicators and the results of these observations have been exhaustively discussed and analyzed in the forth coming pages.

Marriage and First Migration

There is no doubt that migration has brightened the lives of many but it has also interfered and become a hurdle in the family life of many. The job commitment and short vacation have forced the migrants to go back and take up the duty at the destination immediately after their marriage. This compulsion led to the disruption of their newly married life at the native place. This inconvenience and interruption in the family life of migrants is observed from the information collected. The data in table. 43 present the figures relating to the migrants' period of stay with their wives after the marriage. Before leaving to Gulf 14 of the migrants stayed for less than a month with their wives. 65 of the migrants stayed only 1 to 2 months, 24 migrants stayed approximately 2 to 5 months, 4 of the migrants stayed for 5 to 12 months, 2 of the migrants 1 to 2 years and 1 migrant 2 to 3 years. The short period of stay of a migrant with his wife after the

marriage has created a lot of problems and tension for the couple. The short period of stay of the migrant couple does not allow them to understand each other. Though they have become husband and wife, individually they are left strangers and could not understand each other. Moreover the wife neither understands her husband nor his family. So her stay in the husbands house soon after migration has become an unpleasant one. Therefore she prefers to go back to her mother's house. The wife's stay in her mother's house has given rise to many complications and in some cases end up in divorce. The short period of stay with the husband has given rise to a feeling that marriage is a superficial ceremony and a good number has deviated from the social norms and it has affected the discipline of the society. This has also created tension and anxiety in the wives who are left behind at the native place.

Mode of Communication

Communication plays an important role between the migrants and his family in informing the day to day affairs to the migrant. This aspect has been generally seen as an important factor in every migrated family. The communication has enhanced the relationship and made the migrant and his family forget the loneliness. The communication with the family enables the migrant to adapt himself to the new surroundings in a far away place. Table.44 presents the mode of communication used by the wives left behind to communicate with their husbands. In order to bridge the relationship between the migrant and the family, different means such as letters, phone calls, internet and e-mail are used. The figures in the table show that nearly 68 migrants' wives use both letters and phone calls, 11 of them use only letters, 23 of them use phone calls only and a small section of the migrants' wives, that is

8 wives, use either e-mail or internet. The primary mode of communication used by the Gulf migrant or by his family is letters or phone calls. Most of the migrants' wives are illiterate. They are ignorant about the operation of such communication systems. Due to their husbands' migration, writing letters or speaking over phones becomes inevitable. Therefore, they had to learn how to use the above mentioned modes of communication. In spite of their lack of knowledge most of them made an effort to learn the operation of phone calls and they have succeeded in learning them.

In this connection Sekher T.V. observes that the most common mode of communication wives use to communicate with their husbands abroad is letters and a few use telephone facilities. An interesting observation in this regard is that some women learn the basics of reading and writing in order to communicate with their husbands abroad[9]. Table.45 gives data on frequency of letter written by the migrants' wives to their husbands. Data on the frequency of letter writing are presented under four categories. They are – once in a week, once in two weeks, once in a month and write occassionally. There are 22 wives who write once in a week. Under the category of once in two weeks there are 23 members. Eleven (11) of the wives or family members say that they write once in a month. It is interesting to note that there are around 8 members who say that they communicate with their counterparts occasionally. The low frequency of letter writing does not mean the communication with their husbands is limited. Infact it is felt that they use other modes of communication like phone calls, e-mail and fax. Letter writing has made the migrants' wives to realize the importance of literacy. Most of the migrants' wives were illiterate when their husbands migrate. Initially they had to depend on others to write letters to their husband. This forced them to make an effort

to learn writing and to transact on their own in the post office. Moreover in the process they have understood the importance of education. This understanding in turn has made them to give more importance to their childrens education. In this way the compulsion to write letters works as a motivating factor for the illiterate wives left behind to be literate. The letter writing has helped the wives of the migrant family to convey many issues such as the family problems, the progress and the major projects that are going to be taken up in the household to their husbands.

Leela Gulati has rightly agreed that letter writing "Contains information about the children's education and health[10]". They also write about the possible purchase of land, new construction possibilities, repair of house and other home affairs. Data in table.46 indicate that 2 of the total sample make daily telephone call to their husbands, 52 of them once in a week, 21 of them once in 2 weeks, 11 of them once in a month and 5 of them occasionally. As telephone communication system is a costly affair the women left behind make use of it selectively. It has made them to study the telephone tariff and to find out other subsidized facilities to minimise their telephone bill. The expensive nature of phone calls made the wives of migrant to be selective and brief over the phone. They have learnt the operation of telephone and other communication systems they have also learnt the etiquette one should follow while communicating through a modern instrument.

Looking after children

Children are the most precious assets of the parents. Parents generally cherish many dreams about their children, and build castles of imagination. In order to bring these dreams into reality every parent takes utmost care in shaping their future from their

childhood. As we have already seen in the earlier part of this chapter, in the absence of husbands due to migration, it is the wives of the migrants who have to shoulder these responsibilities in the family. The minute attention and care of the wives are necessary to transform the dreams of the parents into reality. The magnitude of the challenge and responsibility on the wives left behind increases with longer stay of husband in the destination. This is clear from the figures obtained from the field. Of the total sample, 24 of the migrant family have one child each, 18 of the families have 2 children, 27 of the families have 3 children, 18 of the migrant families have 4 children, 8 of the migrant families have 5 children and 6 of the migrant families have 6 or more children (table.47).

The data presented in the above table and also in Tables. 48 & 49 suggest that with the husbands' migration the responsibilities of the wives left behind have increased. It is a well known fact that either due to modernity or due to local compulsion every migrants family has given due importance to education. Every family interviewed shows that there is no child left at home without going to school. Moreover, most of the children of these families are sent to English medium convent schools. These children have been provided with all the facilities such as transportation by school bus or by car or by auto, tuition arrangements and so on. Some children of the migrants' family go to school walking because schools are near their house. There are many cases where the migrants' wives have made an arrangement to put up in the city for the children's better education. These children have also been given additional coaching in the form of tuition. Nearly 67% of the interviewed agree that their children go for tuition.

So the findings support the thesis that migrants spend a lot of money for the education of their children and due to this importance

given to learning, the responsibilities of wives have increased enormously. Wives of the migrants might have taken this added responsibility on their own because of the trauma they have undergone in learning to cope with the new situation. Moreover it is clear from the data relating to the educational background of the migrants' family that a large section of both the husband and wife belongs to low education segments. These aspects might have played an important role in motivating them to give good education to their children. Absence of the husband has compelled the wives left behind to take independent decisions and that in turn has made them less dependent on others. For example decisions pertaining to children's education such as type of school, payment of fees, arranging for tuition, kids health, food habits, dress, and in many other related areas, she has to take some decisions on her own. If her husband were to be with her she would not have had that freedom to decide independently. This responsibility has advanced the social mobility of women.

Managing Family Affairs

The fact of managing a family invariably involves managing social relations and also managing family finance. The position of a migrants family amidst other families naturally invites a relationship among them. Social functions, gatherings, religious festivals etc, provide opportunities for them to have relationship with one another. The migrant family cannot become isolated from their relatives. They have to participate in these functions. But the question comes who is the person to participate in these gatherings? Once again it is the wife of the migrant who invariably has to make the representation. This is also true among the relatives. In the absence of her husband she becomes the channel to keep up a good

relation between relatives and her family. This is inevitable and it is the need of the social structure. These new avenues and new roles pose several challenges to the wives. This shows that the migration of her husband has helped her to face the challenges boldly to take decisions on her own.

The table. 48 relating to managing family affairs, especially the family financial matters, gives some idea about the management of family financial responsibility in the absence of the migrant. It is found that out of the total sample, 34 wives have shouldered the responsibility of finance on their own, 51 of them have taken the financial responsibility on the husbands advice and request, 22 of them have agreed that this responsibility is discharged by the husbands family members and in 3 of the families, it is the relatives who look after the financial management. Since she is the sole custodian and manager of the family finances she has taken the care in allocating the finance properly. The matters which involve decision making, on investing in construction works, agricultural development works, renovation of the houses, purchasing consumer durables for the house, celebration of marriage, religious function, education of the children, dress, and other expenses, have been transferred to the wives and they have managed them meticulously. This exposure and personal decision making have enabled the women to face the challenges and difficulties. This kind of opportunity is made available only in the migrant family. Thus women have developed consciousness about social and economic aspects. These things have strengthened wives left behind and made them to think independently. In conformity to this Khafagy reports that the women left behind are involved in cultivation and management of financial affairs and household decision making.

Problems of the Wives

It is learnt from the above discussion that the wives left behind have better economic benefits, advanced social status and they enjoy modern luxuries in the house. But these benefits have not come freely. These benefits have their own hidden costs in the form of adverse consequences due to the migration of their husbands. She has to face many problems like loneliness, added responsibility, dependance on others, dealing with land disputes, insecurity, worries of the future, childrens health and debt. Husband's migration is not a happy thing to a wife. She feels lonely in the absence of her husband. 98 migrants' wives express the feeling of loneliness, 68 of them say that they are given the additional responsibility, 31 of them express their dependence on others, 20 of them agree that there is no much financial gain, 18 of them express that they have to spend much time on land dispute, 16 of them feel insecurity in life at the native place. 11 of them express their worries about the future, 10 of them speak about their children's ill health and 9 of them are concerned about repayment of debts (table. 49). In the sample, nearly 89% of the migrants' wives express their loneliness due to their husbands' migration. This is the basic problem faced by most of the migrants' wives.

The concept of loneliness differs from person to person depending upon the world view they have on life. Loneliness in relation to migrants' wives can be analyzed from the point of view of emotional attachment to their life partner. This, attachment to loved ones, is an all pervading reality and the persons separated need to tolerate it till they come together. In this case the wife and the husband needs to tolerate this separation till the husband ends his migratory status. Almost all the interviewed (89%) agreed about this condition. In another sense migration can also be interpreted

as a disruption to the normal married life. Loneliness is a recurring problem in a majority of the migrants' wives. The feeling of loneliness of wives left behind has led to social deviation in the society. In some instances it has made some couples to end their married life or to settle for divorce. Some others continued to be husband and wife for fear of social stigma. A few of them have made compromises with established norms of society and developed several bad habits like alcoholism and betting to forget their grievance. This social deviation has given rise to a spate of problems in children's character, education and family norms.

Added Responsibility

The migration has invited the wives of the migrant to carryout the inevitable responsibilities of the family like children's education, financial management, bank transaction and communicating with the external world. Since they are novices to these world realities they have to face inconveniences at each step in learning them. They have also faced other problems like dependence on others for cultivation, for manual work at home and outside. Moreover, the absence of their husbands created insecure feelings among the family members. The sudden shift of the family responsibility has turned indigestible to the inexperienced wives of the migrants. They could not bear this heavy burden. Since they have been introduced to a totally new system within the family wherein they have to take independent decisions. They find it very difficult at the beginning. Every aspect of the family becomes new thing to them and they have to be a guide to themselves, without much help from others. Hence, discharging added responsibilities leaves them in anxiety and worries. Moreover low education has made them to be dependent on others to write letters, to transact in

the bank and to deal within other spaces where they are novices. The family dispute on land has to be sorted out by them. The absence of elder male members makes them feel insecure. They are always haunted by family worries. Moreover, the problems like ill health of children, their treatment, and repayment of the debt raised for their husbands' migration fall on their shoulders to be solved. The temporary nature of their husband's job in the Gulf country is another worry in the family. These responsibilities have become a new state of affair to them.

There is no doubt that in spite of the inconveniences and problems, the family has been well managed by the migrants' wives. The social impact of migration on the wives is found in increased responsibilities and duties related to the family. When it has become inevitable they have tried their best to shoulder these responsibilities sincerely. However these added responsibilities have given them courage and confidence in building up their personality dynamically. Kemiar's and Ismail's, study on problems of migration concludes that labor migration weakened the traditional family ties and increased intra family problems in situations where the wife and children are left behind.

Social Impact on the Elderly

This part of the chapter deals with the socio-economic condition of the migrated family and attempts to highlight the privileges and the negligence experienced by the elderly people in the migrated families. The psychological depression, the social status, economic gains, the medical care, the modern luxuries and family atmosphere which the elderly enjoy or suffer have been discussed in this part of the chapter. The elderly people are the source of inspiration and they have behind them a large stock of

experiences. If experiences of the elders are used properly they would help the society to act prudently. It is normally assumed that in a modernizing society joint families break away and in their place nuclear families take shape. This transformation in the family structure leads to a loss of benefits which are the part of the joint family such as looking after the kids, aged and providing shelter to those who are unable to earn their food and so on. Within this framework if we look into the problems of the aged in the migrants' family the most prudent assumption would be that the elderly people are more likely to be neglected in the family. The son's absence in the family due to migration has a direct impact on the treatment his parents may get. This apprehension is due to a fact that in the son's absence the whole responsibility of looking after his aged parents falls on the shoulders of the son's wife or daughter-in-law. It is normally believed in South Indian societies that the wife being an outsider may not look after her husband's parents as well as she looks after her own parents. In this part of the chapter an attempt is made to analyze the effect of migration on the elders of the migrant's family.

The process of migration has brought considerable changes in the standard of living of the family. The migration has become an agent of change and has introduced modern aspects into the family. The better salary received by the migrant has brought about social and economic changes in his family. Considering the fast changing socio-economic fabric of Indian society and its impact on the family structure, the elderly segment is experiencing both the privileges and unprecedented pressures and difficulties. In the context of Indian family structure an elder of the family has been traditionally and customarily considered as the decision making authority of the family. Human life encompasses three phases i.e

childhood, adulthood and oldage. Western society considers one who crosses 65 as aged. Indian society considers a person who crosses the age of 60 as a senior citizen. The fast changing economic environment and the creeping in of modern values have brought about perceptible changes in the life style of the elders and in the cultural values and general outlook of the younger generations. In this bargain some of the elders are finding themselves unable to withstand the loss of respect and status as head of the family which the elderly have enjoyed in our society over centuries in the past. In the changed circumstances the senior citizens give a mixed opinion about their rear and care in the migrated families.

The Elderly and the Family

A traditional practice with Indian family is that parents are supposed to be taken care by their offsprings. The study has found that elders have been looked after by the members of the family or relatives at the native place. The process of migration, even though separates the sons from their parents, it has helped the family of the migrant at the native place to be united. There is no doubt that the dissatisfaction of the elders cannot be unnoticed. At the same time it is true that a large section of the interviewed elders are living with their son's family. It is interesting to note that only 15 elders are living independently. Of the 15 elders, 5 live with their spouses. 34 elders live with their spouse, children and grand children. 57 of the elders, i.e a large section of the interviewed elders, live with son's family (Table. 50). The findings from the above figures clearly state that 92% of the elderly live with their families. The elders have expressed their dissatisfaction with the hospitality they have received in the family from their daughters-in-law. This ill-

treatment and dissatisfaction about the family affair has made the elders to think of their sons' absence due to migration. Hence, they wish to have their sons along with them during their old age.

Health Condition

According to figures from our field work, 10 of the elders are very healthy, 19 of them have fairly good health and 76 of them are unhealthy (table.51). There are several health problems associated with ageing. A brief outline of health problems of the elders of the migrants' family gives and idea on the care they receive in the migrants family. Of the total sample, 72% of the elders suffer from one or the other disease. It is important to note that 19% of the elders are only fairly healthy and only 9% of the elders are enjoying good health. The loss of privileges and status associated with job, economic problems, death of spouse, moving away of children from the home, loneliness, disability and dependence on others are the major reasons for deterioration of their health. One more reason for their ill health can be found in their previous life style. Most of these elders have led a hard life working under somebody without having much nutritious food during their early days. The earnings which the elders had in the early days of their employment could not facilitate them to spend on nutritious food and for looking after their health. This negligence of their personal life in the early phase has taken a heavy toll on their health in their old age. Hence now some of them have diseases which are severe and uncontrollable. Table. 52 gives a list of different diseases that the elders in the migrants' family suffer from. There are 26 elders suffering from heart disease Another 23 suffer from arthritis. 8 of the total sample have cholesterol problem, 33 of the total sample are suffer from hypertension and 5 of them suffer from anxiety.

Infact ill-health during old age is a natural phenomenon. It is not only found in the migrants family, even the parents of the non-migrants are not an exception as far as ill health is concerned. But the sufferings are made complex in the migrants' family, may be due to their children's separation. But it does not mean that the elders are left high and dry. On the contrary most of the elders are looked after by their family when they fall ill. It can be understood from the treatment they get. All the migrant parents who were interviewed responded that they were getting treatment either from the private hospital or from the government hospital (Table no. 53). Of the total sample, 95% of the migrants get treatment in the private hospitals as stated in the economic impact chapter. The significant thing to be noted is that the migrants are concerned about their parents and give special care to the health of their parents and they often enquire about the health condition of their parents.

The old age is the age of insecurity and physical disability. During old age the elders expect their sons and daughters to be near them. The sons' migration from the family makes the elders totally detached emotionally and physically. This brings a feeling of insecurity and loneliness among the elders. They might feel disserted in the midst of their own people and they may also feel that nobody is there to listen to their difficulties and grievances. Thus the migration of their own children makes the elders feel lonely, insecure, depressed and they wait everyday for their children to return to home. In addition to the above facts, for their own psychological satisfaction the elders may expect their sons or beloved once to be near them due to todays uncertain international environment. Today the international policies have been changing very fast. The cold war and combating for resources have been

going on especially among the Middle East countries. This has brought insecurity and anxiety among the parents of the migrants. This anxiety is further increased when the elders hear about deaths due to terrorist activities. The war, insecurity and temporary nature of the job, made the parents feel insecure and left them with anxiety and tension about their children. This pressure and worries about the children have doubled the suffering that they already undergo.

Occupational Status

The occupational status gives the general image and the background of the occupation of the migrants parents.The findings show that 74% of the parents of the migrants are asked cease to work and look after the petty work around the house. This development also speaks about the economical advancement of these families. Among the interviewed members 3 elders are working in the private sector 2 of them continue to be in the self employment, 9 of them work as unpaid family worker, 78 of them express that they are not interested to work, 10 of them are involved in household work and 3 of them are pensioners (table.54). The cross section of data (table. 54) on elders throw light on the life of the elders. In the existing atmosphere it is normal to assume that elders are economically a burden to the family and the society. Even the elders do feel that they are no longer competitors in the employment market. The change is felt among the elders because of physical weakness and ill health. This has reflected in their behavior and attitude.

At the age of 60 a noticeable change generally is felt among the elders. It is mainly due to two things – one, their age and

second, they are retired from their job which means less economic earnings and consequent loss of economic power. The ill health of the elders also forces them not to work. In the study it is found that 74% of the elders do not require job. The elderly belonging to the category of pensioners, unpaid family worker and household workers gained importance even during the oldage. The data presented here falsifies the notion that the elders are inactive and useless to the society. Figures of this study show that 2% of elders are engaged in the self employment and 5% are working for private firms. Around 14% of the elderly are preoccupied in one or another useful activity. The elders as shown by the figures do have importance in the family either due to their economic status or due to their active involvement in the household work. Thus a large portion of the elders remain economically active or else they engage themselves in social or religious activity.

In this study, it is learnt that a majority of the migrants parents i.e elders have stopped working outside. Even their previous work was not that much important, both in terms of its economic and social viability, because some of them were working as coolies. Such elders after their sons migration had been asked by the children not to go to work outside the family. Here two important factors can be noted. The migration has improved the economic standard of the family, enhanced property and wealth. The newly acquired economic and social status of the family made their sons to force their parents not to go for work outside. It may be for the social status, or may be out of love for their parents. In majority of the cases their sons have stopped them to work outside primarily for the social status, because majority of the migrants' parents have been working either for daily wages in the private

sectors or in other small concerns. So the migrants express that migration has brought privileges to the elders of the family in terms of working outside the family. One more reason can be cited for their rejection of job outside, that is, they are engaged in one or the other household works like helping the rest of the family members, caring for the grand children, looking after the property or guarding the house.

Elderly and Socio-Economic Status

The Gulf migrants belong to middle class families. But this middle class status is not inherited by them, it is earned by them over the years through their labor. In order to keep the hard earned economic status intact every member of the family has to struggle day and night. In this case the elders are not an exception. The elders earned the money by working outside the family. But in this long voyage of every day struggle the fortune of migration to the Gulf countries has come as a boon to the family. This has drastically changed the social and economic status of the family. Gradually the changed economic status influenced the social values of the family. So what was earlier seen as natural began to viewed as odd and became a practice to be discontinued. With the enhanced economic status the practice of elder members of the family working outside the family has become an insult to the migrants. The enhanced social status has made the migrant to restrict their parents from working outside the family.

The migration to the Gulf country has brought a change in the socio-economic status of the migrants' families. The migrants before their migration lived a middle class life. The migration has changed not only the economic status of the family but also social respect in the native place. The elders of the migrants family who

have been working outside started to get importance primarily because of their sons' migration. The improved economic status in the family has also enhanced the economic status of the elders and their life style. The elders have been introduced to the imported consumer durables, food habits and clothes. These privileges have enabled them to gain importance among their close relatives and in the neighbourhood. The enhanced economic status commanded better social respect by the migrants' families. This social respect has hindered the elders to go outside the family. Even the migrants restricted their parents working outside the family to keep up the social respect. The findings of this study say that most of the elderly people in migrants' houses responded that they had been given importance in their houses, health conditions were looked after, they had been consulted on important family matters and money was provided for their monthly expenses.

In the district Gulf migration is invariably associated with ample wealth. So in those families which have some of their members in the Gulf countries the prestige of belonging to the rich is imposed. This social image makes the migrant and his family members to lead a life that fits the image created for the Gulf migrant. The migrant acts in accordance with the societal image. Because of the improved economic status they think it is below their dignity to send their parents outside the family for daily wages. Instead the elders in the family who have been working outside their families have been asked to assist in family works. The elders have been sent a small amount of money for their daily expenses. This regular receipt of money has relieved the elders of the migrated family from working outside. Most of the elders are not working. Only a negligible percentage are working in the

private sector, that is, 3%. Some are self employed (2%). The expectations in terms of elders' occupation, their way of life, day to day necessities, dressing style, choice of hospital for treatment, style of food, donations, have automatically attracted the social attention. This social change in the life of migrant family enhanced the social status of each member of that family, including the elders. Restriction on elders for working outside, the dress pattern of the elders and their way of life changed the social status of the elders in the society. In the initial phase every family looks upon migration as a source to increase the income of the family member. The increase in the family income has improved the life style of the elders of the family too. When the life they lived before their children's migration is compared with the life they lived after their children's migration a striking contrast can be noticed in terms of their life style, and food habits. The improved income has provided the elders in the family, a good house, a better living place, modern facilities, better health care, good clothes and good food. These things would not have happened in their life, had their children not migrated to the Middle East countries.

The Gulf migration of the people of Dakshina Kannada pepole has brought drastic changes in the socio-economic status of migrants family. To be specific, there are changes in the life style of the family, changes in the freedom enjoyed by the women, changes in the income of the family and also changes in the life style of the aged. The women, along with their husbands, have been participating in managing the family affairs even before their husbands' migration. But the absence of their husbands due to migration has created an opportunity for them to be active and run the family on their own with confidence. The migration of their

husbands made them to leave the four walls of their house and interact with people in the larger society. When they moved outside they have been compelled to learn the basics of operating in the public spaces like schools, post offices, hospitals, banks, insurance offices and telephone booths.

The impact of migration on social and economic aspects of the elders of the family is significant. This has been realized in their daily life. The migrants have relieved their parents from the hard life to which they were accustomed and given them better living conditions including better treatment during their ill health. The economic conditions of the elders have improved due to their sons'migration. The migration has enhanced the social respect of the elders. Keeping aside certain normal problems which could be identified with all the aged such as loneliness, misunderstanding, attachment to their sons and ever haunting parental memories of their sons, the elders of the migrants live a better life. They have been provided with good food, medical care and other facilities necessary to lead a decent life. To be precise we can infer from the above discussions that when compared to the elders in general, the elder members of migrants' family have enjoyed a better standard of life.

Table 43
Time interval between marriage and for first migration

Time interval		Mangalore	Puttur	Total
Less than months	Count	8	6	14
	%			
1 month to 2 months	Count	38	27	65
	%			
2 months to 5 months	Count	10	14	24
	%			
5 months to 12 months	Count	2	2	4
	%			
1 year to 2 year	Count	1	1	2
	%			
2 years to 3 years	Count	1	0	1
	%			
Total		60	50	110

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 44 : Means of Communication

Means of communication			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Letters and phone calls	Count	36	32	68
		%	60.0%	64.0%	61.8%
	Letters only	Count	7	4	11
		%	11.7%	8.0%	10.0%
	Phone only	Count	13	10	23
		%	21.6%	20.0%	20.9%
	Email/internet	Count	4	4	8
		%	8.0%	8.0%	8.0%
Total		Count	60	50	110
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 45 : Frequency of Letter Writing

Frequency			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Once in a week	Count	16	6	22
		%	38.0%	27.0%	34.0%
	Once in two weeks	Count	17	6	23
		%	40.0%	27.0%	36.0%
	Once in a month	Count	7	4	11
		%	17.0%	18.0%	17.0%
	Occassionaly	Count	2	6	8
		%	5.0%	27.0%	13.0%
Total		Count	42	22	64
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 46 : Frequency of Phone Calls

Frequency			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Daily	Count	2	0	2
		%	4.2%	.00	2.2%
	Once in a week	Count	28	24	52
		%	57.1%	57.1%	57.1%
	Once in two weeks	Count	10	11	21
		%	20.4%	26.2%	23.1%
	Once in a month	Count	5	6	11
		%	10.2%	14.3%	12.1%
	Occassionaly	Count	4	1	5
		%	8.1%	2.40	5.5%
Total		Count	49	42	91
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 47 : Number of Children in the Migrants' Families

Number of children			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	No	Count	6	3	9
		%	10.0%	6.0%	8.2%
	1	Count	13	11	24
		%	21.7%	22.0%	21.8%
	2	Count	11	7	18
		%	18.3%	14.0%	16.4%
	3	Count	14	13	27
		%	23.3%	26.0%	24.5%
	4	Count	9	9	18
		%	15.0%	18.0%	16.4%
	5	Count	4	4	8
		%	6.7%	8.0%	7.3%
	6+	Count	3	3	6
		%	5.0%	6.0%	5.4%
Total		Count	60	50	110
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no 48 : Managing Finance and Family Affairs

Persons			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Wife (on her own)	Count	18	16	34
		%	30.0%	32.0%	30.9%
	wife (directed by husband)	Count	28	23	51
		%	46.7%	46.0%	46.4%
	Husband's Family	Count	13	9	22
		%	21.7%	18.0%	20.0%
	Other relatives	Count	1	2	3
		%	1.6%	4.00	2.7%
Total		Count	60	50	110
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 49 : Problems of the Gulf Migrants' Wives

Problems		PLACE		
		Mangalore	Puttur	Total
Loneliness	Count	56	42	98
	%	93.3%	84.0%	89.1%
Added responsibility	Count	37	31	68
	%	61.7%	62.00	61.80
Has to depend on others	Count	17	14	31
	%	28.3%	28.0%	28.2%
No financial gain	Count	13	7	20
	%	21.7%	14.0%	18.20
Land dispute	Count	4	14	18
	%	6.7%	28.00	16.4%
Less security	Count	9	7	16
	%	15.0%	14.0%	14.5%
Worries about future	Count	3	8	11
	%	5.0%	16.00	10.0%
Children health	Count	7	3	10
	%	11.7%	6.0%	9.1%
Debt	Count	6	3	9
	%	9.9%	6.0%	8.2%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 50 : Elderly and Family Relations

Living			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Alone	Count	4	2	6
		%	6.2%	5.0%	5.5%
	With Spouse	Count	8	4	12
		%	12.3%	10.0%	11.5%
	With Spouse, Children & grand children	Count	17	12	29
		%	26.2%	30.0%	27.5%
	Without Spouse but with children & Grand children	Count	35	21	56
		%	53.8%	52.5%	53.5%
	Others	Count	1	1	2
		%	1.5%	2.5%	2.0%
Total		Count	65	40	105
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 51: Health Condition of the Elderly

Health condition			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Very healthy	Count	6	4	10
		%	9.2%	10.0%	9.5%
	Fairly healthy	Count	12	7	19
		%	18.4%	17.5%	18.1%
	Unhealthy	Count	47	29	76
		%	72.4%	72.5%	72.4%
Total		Count	65	40	105
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 52 : Diseases Suffered by the Elderly

Diseases			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Heart disease	Count	16	10	26
		%	27.1%	27.8%	27.4%
	Arthrities	Count	17	6	23
		%	28.8%	16.7%	24.2%
	Cholestorol	Count	4	4	8
		%	6.8%	11.1%	8.4%
	Hypertension	Count	21	12	33
		%	35.6%	33.3%	34.7%
	Anxiety	Count	1	4	5
		%	1.7%	11.1%	5.3%
	Total	Count	59	36	95
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 53 : Treatment of Diseases

Treatment			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Yes	Count	59	36	95
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	0	0	0
		%	.0%	.0%	.0%
Total		Count	59	36	95
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field survey

Table no. 54 : Occupational Status of the Elderly

JOB			PLACE		Total
			Mangalore	Puttur	
	Private	Count	2	1	3
		%	3.1%	2.5%	2.9%
	Self employment	Count	1	1	2
		%	1.6%	2.5%	2.0%
	Unpaid family worker	Count	6	3	9
		%	9.2%	7.5%	8.6%
	Job not required	Count	48	30	78
		%	73.8%	75.0%	74.0%
	House hold work	Count	6	4	10
		%	9.2%	10.0%	9.6%
	Pensioner	Count	2	1	3
		%	3.1%	2.5%	2.9%
Total		Count	65	40	105
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from field study

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The thesis began with a principal objective of examining the socio-economic impact of Gulf migration. The need for the study has been established on the ground that even though Gulf migration has been a well researched area, there is no study to get some idea on the impact of Gulf migration on the society and the economy of Dakshina Kannada. Once again the question of lack of data on Gulf migration from the district became important for the simple reason that for the last three decades or more a large number of people from the district have been migrating to the Gulf. The whole district in one form or the other has been experiencing the Gulf syndrome. The Gulf migrants and their life style became the talk of the society. There are also discussions that prices in the local consumer markets are moving up mainly because of these migrants who are ready to pay any price demanded by the seller. Finally, there are also discussions on changes in the social status of different social groups. To take one example, in the district the economic status and its manifestation in the social status are largely dependent on the type of house one possesses. With the Gulf migration a number of people who were in huts prior to migration could build good houses with the income generated from their migration. These symbolic changes, it is discussed, disturbed the already existing social status positions of different social groups. All these every day discussions may not be hundred percent true. But one cannot ignore them altogether. So it is felt that there is a need for an intensive examination of the various dimensions of the Gulf migration and its socio-economic impact.

This thesis took up the task of examining intensively four major issues broadly connected with the Gulf migration and its impact. They are – one, the causes and process of migration, second, condition of migrants at the destination, third, social impact of migration and forth, to study the economic impact of migration. The study depended on empirical method to gather data and also to analyze the data gathered. The study took maximum care to collect as much data as possible on different dimensions of migration. But one cannot ignore the major lacuna in the area of analysis. The study has not used any statistical tool nor has it adopted any method to analyze the data, except the routine one of explaining the data. Before going to present the major findings of the study, it is necessary to sum up certain important chapters of the study, which have played the role of curtain raisers. For example in the introductory chapter an attempt is made to examine the relation between migration and development. The thesis takes the position that migration is embedded in our understanding of development. For the layman development is very much related to his material well being. In order to fulfill that, he takes the best available course of action. With the kind of development pursued, a number of traditional routes to material gains have lost their relevance and in their place a number of modern occupations have come to stay. Through these economic activities people want to enrich themselves. If they don't find a chance to do these activities in their native they migrate.

It is a known fact that migration is ubiquitous; found all over India with varying degrees of intensity. However so far as sending labor force to the Gulf countries is concerned Kerala stands first. A large number of Keralas workers migrated to the Gulf. Kerala's

presence is felt not only in its laborers Gulf migration but also in the number of studies taken up in the area of migration. However in the process, a number of other places that have, (though not in the same proportion as the Kerala) also sent laborers to the Gulf, have not succeeded in attracting the attention of researchers. One such region is Dakshina Kannada. The thesis assumes that understanding the district is the starting point to understand the process of migration. In the chapter on the region of study, an attempt is made to identify the historical facts, which might have contributed to the process of migration. In the process three important features of the region are brought to focus. Of them the socio-economic dynamics of colonial and pre-colonial period are examined. The rigid caste hierarchy and its relation with land holding are the main feature of the social structure. That social condition subjected the people to double subjugation. On the economic front the lower strata needed to toil from dawn to dusk for their basics in the rented land. On the social side they were subjected to institutionalized inequality in all the public places. To escape from this double domination and exploitation, people used to migrate to various royal centers in the pre-colonial period and to coffee plantations in the colonial period. In the post-colonial period, the picture did not change much until the 1970s. But from 1970s onwards due to various reasons the things began to take new shape. Of them the land reform is the major reason. Along with the land reform, bank nationalization, spread of education, beedi industry and many other factors also contributed to faster changes. All these factors have played a direct or indirect role in pushing the people outside the district for employment. Some migrated due to

socio-economic pressures, others migrated to avail the better opportunities in far away places.

The four important issues that the thesis attempts to examine are causes and process of migration, condition of migrant at the destination, the social and the economic impacts of migration. In the chapter human agency and migration, the causes and process of migration have been discussed. The thesis attempts to find answers to questions like who migrates, why one migrates and how one migrates. In other words here the thesis attempts to deal with the socio–economic background of the migrants. The study found that even though members from all the major religions of the region (Muslims, Christians and Hindus) migrated, the number of people migrated from Muslim community is far higher. Among the total migrants, migrants belonging to the age group of thirty-to-forty are more in number. The educational and skill background of the migrants is very low. Most of them have come from low educational and skill background. The migrants tend to come from relatively larger families. It is found that the main reasons for migration are unemployment and poverty. The social network, especially relatives and friends, has worked as promoter guide and introducer of migrant to the destination. International migration is an expensive affair to the migrants. So majority of the migrants raised finance for their migration either by selling gold or land or by taking recourse to their savings.

In relation to condition of migrants at the destination the thesis has the following findings. Majority of the migrants at the destination stated that they had been appointed on temporary basis. They also said that they had quite often changed their jobs at the destination. Annual holidays are given according to the nature of

the job and the firm. Friday is the weekly holiday in Gulf countries. Even during the holidays most of the migrants prefer to work. It is mainly due to the fact that the main ambition of migrants is to improve their economic condition. They work over time and try to maximize their income as fast as possible. At the destination some migrants have been given facilities such as accommodation, transportation to work place, education facilities to the children and medical facilities. The migrants are satisfied with the remuneration received from their employers. The migrants send their savings through banks because it is the safest way to reach the hard earned money to the family members. When asked about migrants' Gulf citizenship a majority said they were not interested in getting Gulf citizenship because of the strict rules and regulations one should follow in the daily life. Most of the migrants have not taken their families to the destination. Most of the migrants do not have any contact with the Indian Embassy. Even though, there are many Indian associations playing a vital role in celebrating various festivals and functions of native culture, a majority of the migrants do not take part in them. The strict rules and regulations in the work and public places, religious attitudes and bad weather are the major constraints which the migrants at the destination think they have to tolerate if at all they want to earn a good life once they return home.

The chapter on the economic impact of Gulf migration deals with the economic impact at the individual or family level, and also at the macro-level. Twelve indicators are used to measure the economic impact of migration. Economic impact at the macro level is measured by comparing the data relating to the migrants on these indicators with the figures of controlled group or those who have

not migrated. It is found that the annual income of the migrant is higher than that of a non-migrant. According to the data collected migrants' family consume qualitatively better food than the non-migrants. Migration has motivated the family to be more conscious about hygiene. It is found that the number of people possessing expensive goods like motor car and motor cycle is more in the category of migrants than in the category of non-migrants. The migrants' houses are not only more valuable but also well furnished and filled with modern gadgets when compared to those of the non-migrants. The economic prosperity and exposure to a different kind of life at the destination made the migrant to be conscious about health and education. Majority of the Gulf returned migrants opted for business irrespective of their previous occupation. Due to lack of good education or skill background, most of the Gulf returned migrants settled for petty businesses. The migration of people from the district has a strong bearing at the micro level and has gone a long way in enriching the economy of the region

Under the social impact of Gulf migration two broad issues are considered for detailed analysis. They are - one, the condition or status of women left behind, and two, the condition or status of the elderly dependents of migrants. To measure the impact of migration on the wive's left behind, six indicators are used. To measure the status or condition of the aged dependents of the migrant's four indicators are used. The short period of stay of the migrant after the marriage has created a lot of problems and tension among couples. Due to the husband's migration, writing letters and speaking over phone had become inevitable to the wife. Inevitability of letter writing made many illiterate wives of migrants to realize the importance of literacy. The data collected

show that wives of the migrants have taken special care to look after the children and also discharge her duties meticulously because of her close bond with the family. The study also finds that in families where the migrant is the sole bread earner, his wife has to take up complete responsibility for managing the family affairs in his absence. In other families also the role of wives has drastically changed with their husbands' migration.

To measure the status of the aged dependent of the migrants four indicates are used. Considering the fast changing socio–economic structures of the society in general and with in the family in particular the elderly segment enjoy the privileges and undergo unprecedented pressures. Based on the finding of the study we can come to the conclusion that most of the elderly people in migrant houses have been given importance in their houses. Their health problems are attended to. They have been consulted on important family matters. In most of the cases money is provided for their monthly expenses. There are a few cases where the elderly express that in the absence of their sons, their daughters-in-law have not looked after them properly. But in general, the elderly dependents express satisfaction about their condition. Infact these findings dispute the mainstream understanding of the condition of the aged in general and aged in the houses of migrants in particular. With the modernization and with the formation of nuclear families it is argued that the aged are left out with no arrangements to look after them. But in the present study it is found that most of the migrants' family takes care to attend to the problems of the aged.

It is clear from the above findings that apart from the socio-economic impact of migration on the native place, there are many other matters crying for attention. Among them the problems of the

migrant at the destination and difficulties of the women left behind and the trauma of the aged people at the native place are taken up for intensive examination in this thesis. Findings on these aspects may have their own contribution in shaping the policies on migration. More than that the whole data focus light on the darker side of the migration. The economic impact on the native place and on migrant family becomes the direct result of migration. The pains, worries and anxiety of the migrant and his families are the unheard voices of the whole process of migration. There is no doubt that the migration to the Gulf countries has remarkable influence in improving the life style of the migrant and his family. But it has its own cost. At the same time it is equally true that it is highly impossible to imagine any social change without some sufferings somewhere to somebody.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX – I

EMIGRATION CHECK NOT REQUIRED

Following people do not require E.C.N.R.

1. All gazetted government service personnel.
2. All income tax payers.
3. All professional degree holders (doctors, engineers, cost accountants, college lecturers, advocates etc.) and accredited journalists.
4. Person emigrating to take up position in management (of hotel restaurants, tea houses or other places of public resorts etc).
5. Spouses and dependent children of persons mentioned under (1, and 3).
6. All persons who have been staying abroad for more than three years and spouses, children of such persons.
7. Sea men who are in possession of CDC and sea cadets.
8. All holders of diplomatic / official passports.
9. Dependent children of ECNR passport holders.
10. Persons holding permanent immigration visas to countries such as U.K., U.S.A and Australia.
11. Persons holding graduate or higher degrees.
12. Persons holding diploma from recognized institution such as polytechnics.
13. Nurses possessing qualification recognized under the Indian Nursing Council Act 1947.
14. All persons above the age of 60 years.
15. All persons going to any country in Europe or North America.
16. All visitors to Pakistan or Bangladesh.
17. Persons possessing certificate of vocational training from governmental institutions recognized by the government.
18. Skilled workers, supervisors, semi-skilled workers, light, medium and heavy vehicle drivers, clerical workers of all categories including stenographers, time keepers, typists etc.

(Source: Government of India, Ministry of Labour, New Delhi: Annual report 2000 – 2001)

APPENDIX – II

QUESTIONNAIRE – I

A. MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC IMPACT

Name and address .....

Sex	Age	Religion/ Caste	Education	Job	Marital Status	Migration		Annual Income
						From	To	

2. How do you allocate the income for the following purpose ?

Subject	in Rupees
a) Consumption	
b) Education	
c) Agriculture	
d) Purchase of land	
e) Business	
f) Bank deposit	
g) Dowry	
h) Repayment of debt	
i) Construction	
j) Other purpose	

3. What is the value of your house ?
   below 3,00,000
   3,00,000 – 6,00,000
   6,00,000 – 9,00,000
   9,00,000 – 12,00,000
   above 12,00,000

4. What is the quality of your house ?
   a. Luxurious (3 bedroom with attached bathroom concrete roof mosaic floor.)
   b. Very good (2 bedroom with attached bathroom concrete roof mosaic floor.)
   c. Good (1 bedroom with attached bathroom concrete roof Mosaic floor etc.)
   d. Poor (Brick wall cement floor concrete or tile root)

5. Do you own the following goods/ Ameneties
a) T.V. b) Telephone c) Motor Cycle d) Car e) Radio f) V.C.R. g) Water pump h) Sewing machine i) Fan j) Mixi k)Gas Stove l)Clock m) Iron box n) Cooking fuel o) Electricity p) Sanitation q) Sterio r) Watch s) Cycle t) Sofa u) Truck v) Autorikshaw w) Taxi

6. Give the details about your Job

	Government	Private	Self Employment	Agriculture Labour	Job Seeker	House Hold Worker	Student	Othe
Before Migration								
At the destination								
After Migration								

7. Does your family members working in any one of the following field ?
a) Banking b) Agriculture c) Business d) Industry e) Electrician f) Construction g) Transport and communication h)Self Employment i)Other

8. What type of self employment you are doing after returning from the Gulf?

9. What is the source of Finance for self employment ?
a) Own fund b) Borrowing e) Other

10. How much amount that you have spent for agricultural development ?

	Land Possessed	Labour	Expenditure		Other expenses	Total expenses	Total Income
			Well Water/ Borewell	Pump			
Before Migration							
After Migration							

11. How many children do you have ?

12. What type of school that you have preferred to send your children ?
a) English Medium
b) Kannada Medium

13. Do you send your children for tution ?
14. What is the means of transport used by your children to go to and return from school ?
a) Walking b) Bus c) Own car d) Own two wheeler e) Tax f)Autorikshaw g) Other
15. What type of food that you consume ?

Type of food	All days	Most of the days	Occasionally	Never
Rice Wheat Milk Ice cream Cake Pulses Meat : chicken, Beef, mutton Fish Egg Vegetables Fruits Sugar Coffee Tea Health drinks Soft drinks				

16. What are the articles that you use for personal hygiene and household Sanitation ?

Name of the articles	All the days	Most of the days	Occasionally	Never
a) Toothpaste b) Toilet Soap c) Detergent for Washing cloth d) Liquid cleaner for the floor and toilet				

18. What type of Hospitals do you prefer ?
a) Government Hospital b) Private Hospital
19. How much do you spend for medical treatment in a year – in rupees
20. What are the reasons for your migration ?
a) For good earnings b) Poverty c) Other
21. What is the main reason for your return from the Gulf ?
a) Less Salary b) Climatic Condition c) Other

B. MIGRATION AND SOCIAL IMPACT
Questions to the Gulf Wives

1. Name and address .....

Age	Religion/ Caste	Education	Job	Annual Income

2. In which country does your husband work ?
3. How old were you while your husband migrated to the Gulf ?
4. What are the problems that you are feeling ?
   a) Mental anxiety b) Land dispute c) No financial gain d) Added responsibility e) Loneliness f) Worries about future g) Debt i) Less security g) Children health k) Has to depend on others
5. What was the time interval between marriage and first migration ?
   Less than month
   1 month – 2 months
   2 months – 5 months
   5 months – 12 months
   1 year – 2 years
   2 years – 3 years
6. Which is the means of communication that you use
   a) phone call b) letters c) both phone call and letters
7. What is the frequency in letter writing ?
   a) once in a week b) once in two week c) once in a month d) occasionally
8. What is the frequency in Telephone calls made to husband ?
   a) daily b) once in a week c) once in two week d) once in a month e) occasionally
9. How many children do you have ?
10. In which class your children are studying ?

Class	No. of children
I – IV	
V – VII	
VIII – X	
XI – XII	
XIII -	

11. What is the means of transport used by your children to go a and return from school ?

a) Walking b) Own car c) Own two wheeler d) Bus e) Other

12. Do you send your children for tution ?

13. What is the means of transport – used by your children to go to and return from tution ?

a) Walking b) Two wheeler c) Autoriksha d) Car e) Bus f) Other

14. What are the benefits gained by you from migration ?

a) Financial gain b) Improved life style c) Better education
d) Good food e) Able to own ornaments f) Able to own house
g) Able to buy hand h) Able to help relatives i) Pay back debt
j) other benefits

15. What is the annual remittances received by you ?

below 50,000
50,000 – 75,000
75,000 – 1,00,000
above 1,00,000

16. Who manages the family financial matters in your family ?
a) Wife (on her own) b) Wife (directed by husband)
c) Husbands family members d) Other relatives

17. How do you allocate your own income for the following ?

Particulars	Amount in Rupees
a) for emergency needs b) for savings c) for religious purposes d) to buy ornaments e) according to husband desire f) for the routine consumption g) other uses	

18. Who take decision about house hold expenditure ?
a) Wife (on her own) b) Wife (directed by husband) c) Husbands family members d) Other relatives

C. MIGRATION AND SOCIAL IMPACT – MIGRATION AND OLD AGE PEOPLE

1. Name and address .....

Sex	Age	Religion/ Caste	Education	Job	Place	Marital Status	Annual Income

2. How many old age people you have in your family ?

3. Whom do you live with ?
   a) Alone b) With Spouse c) With Spouse, children and grand children
   d) Without Spouse but with children and grand children
   e) With relatives f) With non-relatives
4. If you live alone or with Spouse, how many time do your children visit you ?
5. Do you own land ?
6. Do you own house ?
7. Do you have bank account ?
8. Do you have any regular source of income ?
9. What are the sources of support you have
   a)Own work b)Past work c) Bank deposit d) Children e) Other source
10. What is your health condition ?
    a) Very healthy b) Fairly healthy c) Unhealthy
11. Are you suffering from any of the following diseases ?
    a)Heart disease b)Arthritis c)Cholesterol d)Hypertension e)Anxiety
12. Do you get treatment ? Yes/ No
13. Who bears the cost of the medical expenses ?
14. Who look after you when you are under treatment ?
15. Do you have any physical disability with regard to the following ?
    a) Difficulty in walking b) Difficulty in traveling
    c) Poor eye sight d) Hard of hearing
    e) Inability to carry out the daily routine
16. If yes who helps you out solving the above problem ?
17. During the old age with whom do you prefer to live ?
    a) With son b) With daughter c) Alone d) With other people
18. What do you think about your children, who are working in the Gulf ?
    a) I don't think it is necessary to go the Gulf
    b) It is necessary to go to Gulf
    c) I can't say

QUESTIONNAIRE – II

TO THE MIGRANT AT THE DESTINATION

1. Name, address .....

Sex	Age	Religion/ Caste	Education	Job	Migration		Marital Status	Annual Income
					From	To		

2. Information about your family

Total Members	Number of Males	Number of Females	Earning members	Dependent members

3. Information regarding your Job

	Government	Private	Self Employment	Agriculture Labour	Job Seeker	House Hold Worker	Student	Other
Before Migration								
At the destination								
After Migration								

4. What is the reason for your migration
   a) poverty b) Unemployment c) better salary d) good job

5. How do you come to know the Job in the Gulf ?
   a) through agent b) friends c) relatives d) news papers e) other

6. What is the cost of your migration

Particulars	Amount in Rupees
i. Ticket ii. Visa iii. Agent Commission iv. Other expenses	

7. Does anybody cheat you ? Yes / No
8. How did you arrange the cost of migration ?

Source	Amount in Rupees
i. Own Savings	
ii. Relatives	
iii. Interest free loan	
iv. Loan with interest	
v. Sold gold	
vi. Sold land	
vii. Other source	

9. Did you get the promised job in the Gulf ? Yes / No

10. If No when compared to the Job promised the Job you got was – less paid or more paid

11. How many times did you change the Job ?
a) once b) twice c) thrice d) four times e) five times

12. Who helped you when you reached the destination (Gulf) ?

13. Please give the details of facilities given by your employer

Facilities	Fully Free	Partially Free	Fully Paid
i. Accommodation			
ii. Transportation to work place			
iii. Canteen facility			
iv. Medical facility			
v. School to children			
vi. Travel to Mother land			

14. When the salary is paid – weekly / monthly

15. Which is the weekly holiday ? Friday / Sunday

16. How did you spend the week end ?
Doing homework / going out with friends / working to earn some extra income / other
If yes do you receive more salary for overtime work ? Yes / No.
17. How many holiday and other than weekly holiday you have in a year ?
18. What is the nature of your job ?
Temporary / Permanent
19. Are you satisfied with your Job ? Yes/ No.

20. How do you save the money ?

Particulars	Amount
i. Keeping with the Employer	
ii. Keeping in bank in the Gulf	
iii. Keeping in bank in India	
iv. Giving hand loan to other in the Gulf	
v. Sending to family	

21. How do you send your savings to mother land ?

Particulars	Amount
i. Through Bank ii. Through Friends iii. Through hawala iv. Other ways	

24. Are you interested to get permanent citizenship ? Yes / No

25. Are you interested in taking family to the Gulf ? Yes / No

26. Which is the mode of communication that you use ?
letters / phone call/ fax / Internet / E-mail / other

27. Are you interested in sending your children to Gulf countries to work ?
Yes / No

28.In the time of difficulty did you get help from Indian Embrassy? Yes/No

29. Do you have your own association there, if yes, mention the name of your association ?

30. Does religion is an abstacle for your social life in Gulf country ?

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